[Idaw Geryun]
[Ait H'adduyws]

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/42 cont./

The I. Geryun, with the valley of Uzaga, shelter one of the branches of the most authentic Seksawa lineage: the proper descendants of the kings mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn in the fourteenth century; the a. D'alh'a, whose family archives will furnish important information for this research.

/43/ Ait H'adduyws: "King's Sons"

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[721]

One goes up the Seksawa by way of a dizzy path on the right bank. After Tasselli, one skirts some cliffs of 200 to 300 meters. Then one descends again, to the confluent of Imi y-Ikis, at the height of which the séguia of the Idma breaks off from the riverbed. The taking of it has already been done by the a. H'adduyws: whence a permanent menace and indeed wars of former times. The path then goes up again. Once the crest has been reached, the Tizi n-Kennas, the panorama of the chain, forming the horizon to the S., lies open at one stroke. It is colossal. The least of these summits, Ras Mulay Âli, Aziwal, Temt'daden, exceed 3,000 meters. At the feet of the traveler, the village of Igersafen, "between two rivers," forms something like the center of a fertile crescent. In fact, two valleys converge there: that of the I. Geryun, descending from the Tichka, where one perceives the grandiose denticulation to the E.; that of the principal branch of the Seksawa, which plunges to the S. and with which our visitor is going to be concerned.

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The somber landscape of schist becomes brighter. One is now in limestone tending toward pink and blue. The valley opens into esplanades larger than one will encounter in all the rest of the valley. In the center, a cupola, that of an eponymous saint, or rather that of the eponym's son, this H'addô u Yûsuf, from whom the taqbilt is supposed to have descended. Orthographic snobbery has in fact reacted on the pronunciation. This tends to impose an a. H'addô u Yûsuf which it readily distorts in paroxytone. Yûsuf would be the own son of Ibn Tachfin the Almoravide. Fine improbability. A prudent orthodoxy, but of late epoch, has camouflaged in antedating it by a century, by reference to the

[Imt'ddan]

133 /51 cont./ The
101 trail, even on the col, passes between a threshing floor and a pile
634 of stones, tarrut', which each passer-by augments. That is a
[487] "mansion," maqâm, of Sidi Ah'med u Musa, the great saint of
[776] the Tazerwalt. In fact, it was a small group from there that founded its tiny capital 500 meters lower, on the right flank of the ravine. Then it spread to the river, appropriating the enormous block of mountains that point to the Tamjlocht, above the holy place of Z'init', and two valleys oriented N.E.-S.W.

These valleys, which to the E. flank the bar of the Afuzar
175 (2,315 meters), suffer from an intense desolation. They give vent
726 to the painful memories of the war led by the Imt'ddan and their
619 Idma allies against the former occupants, the a. Gasa, today driven back behind the Afuzar. Although the conquest took place during the eighteenth century, it seems that the old curse that /52/ pursued the vanquished still weighs on the country. More
133 materially, it seems that this canton has not recovered from the
101 battles, which must have interrupted the work of retention of the
634 slopes, thus liberating the downward flow of the streams. That
[134] carried the arable soil toward the bottom and delivered these lands to the merciless shock of the storms. Even now one is struck by the decadence of the country. One of the valleys, the one that climbs from Tagonit toward Rekto, contains sterile stretches,
[172] imlalen, and cliffs of an intense degradation. The ruins of Rekto, formerly an important village of the a. Gasa and their last refuge before the total eviction, adds to the melancholy of the site. The other valley, called Tmlelt from Tagonit, keeps some poor almond trees. But up to the cul-de-sac that terminates it, upstream from Tamt'ddit, it offers the distressing spectacle of a torrent bed used with nonchalant and seemingly discouraged techniques: portions ruined by the carting of stones, modest basins or rather "water holes," tafrawt, unstable channels: all a function of a
[132] sudden flow, one feels, to be changed in a torrential descent. Between the two extremes of the storm, which carries everything away, and the dryness, which destroys the seed, the ambition of
[172] the husbandman amounts to a kind of groping. At Tagonit a half-collapsed tower, put in the middle of the bed, indicates the

[Ait Musa]

/53 cont./

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The Parvis of the Temple: the Plain of Tabratjut

A clear geographical and social demarcation sets the a. Musa Ufella, that is to say, "Those from above," over against "Those from below," the occupants of the section of the valley immediately lower, starting from the former market "of Thursday," Lkhmis. They live in a small flat-bottomed basin of four or five square kilometers, full of ruins, fields, and cemeteries. Four agglomerations follow one another from downstream upstream: the village, in ruins, of a residual fraction of a. Ish'aq; then the knoll of Tabratjut, overhung by the new château of the Chtittihi family; then Tagadirt, in ruins, a reminder of the struggles between a. Musa and a. Lh'sen at the time of the past generation. Higher, but in a different landscape, where the Seksawa are encased anew in the schistose cliffs, the hamlet of Tigemmi y-iggiz, marvel of cohesion in the habitat. A whole squad of saints, as one will see, the most important of whom is Sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, marks in a way on the side of the plain, that is to say, on the side of the profane, of the officials, and of the troublesome, the approach to the sanctuary and to the place of asylum of Z'init'.

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The basin is closed on all sides by heights of different geological nature: yellowish marls and red rocks from the Imlilen toward the N. on the right bank of the river; following them toward the E. on the Dwiran side, the gloomy hill with two tops called Awrir Wuzal, "of iron," where in fact a well attributed to old and legendary Portuguese miners is to be seen. On all the other sides, this is the black country. Toward the S. it points to the Tamejlocht, bombe with bulky brows toward the W. and the N.-W., with the Mzawt, wooded with holm oaks, and the Illikkri. By the latter the circle is closed. Not without some openings that allow passage to the Seksawa, to the torrent of the a. Mh'nd, and, symmetrically to the latter, on the other side of Tabratjut, to the Talat n-Tddert, which climbs in the direction of the Haut Dwiran and whose role of hydraulic balance is important.

[Ait Abdella]

/57 cont./

103 A harsh history survives in the toponyms. A squad of saints:
[176] Sidi Rah'h'âl n-a. Ikherrachen at Imi n-tghli, higher the Re-
[192] graga of Talâint and Tiburiin, higher still the marabouts /58/ of Igerwal -- come between a. Abdella and a. Musa. The characteristics of the toponymy, clinging to a landscape itself very expressive, accentuate this impression of a passage from one world to another: here a ruiniform rock, the "rock of the Fort," Tansmert wugadir, there a wall of stone seeming to close the valley, Lluh'n-Khaddo, which is perhaps "the Table of H'addô," just as higher there will be an Amlal Yah'ya: and all of these names have a possibly historic sonority. Finally, and even more characteristic, the majestic site of the zaouia of Talâint is dominated by a hill called Awrir n-sidi Limam, at the foot of which there is a "hollow" of the Mahdi Tamd'a n-Lmehdi. One knows who this Imam Lmehdi is in the language of the mountains: this is actually Ibn Toumert. This reminder here, at the very spot where another domain is going to begin, which an accessory hagiology, besides the relief and a violent combativity, defended for
184 a long time, is to be contemplated. The bond of this country of transition with the people of Tuz'z'umt and Bul^{c}wân can only be
[167] artificial. Visibly this world is without unity. Its ikhs-s, one will see, are heteroclites. They call themselves recent occupants; and by title of immigrants and buyers rather than conquerors.

133 To the E. of this section of valley, confused marly hills ex-
131 tend their yellowish glaciated rock to the base of the calcareous
634 entablatures, russet and graven at the summit, where the Dwiran domain begins. Again, a former no man's land /in English in the original source/, where, still in the memory of man, hordes of brigands, some of whom came from the Sous, ransomed at will or even assassinated shepherd or traveler. Today, a zone of pasture-land between tribes, where significantly the Idmâ have acquired,
133 or recovered, the right of usage. This mass of alfa steppe, which
634 toward the S., at the approaches to Z'init', is famous for a huge ring of polished stone, with tumulus in the center, the tarrut' n-Lala Aziza, has been mentioned above. The saint,

619 /71 cont./
166 rare analyses at our disposal concerning the composition of tribes
[174] of the Sous, such as a. Yah'ya and especially a. Wawzgit.
[464] This movement still exists, in the form of worker emigration,
and there is to be seen in it a general rule whose significance exceeds the framework of the present work. The afflux of the allogeneous peoples doubtlessly followed phases of depopulation due
166 to epidemic, to the renewal of the forest (as in the history of
173 medieval Europe). The direction is from the S. toward the N.
● 776 This is what the hagiology recalls. sidi Mh'and comes from the
619 Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas. His companion Sidi Lh'sen is reputed generally to belong to the Idrna and to come from the S. Sidi Abdallah u Sâid, of the a. Tamment, taps the offerings of several Seksawa groups, although, significantly, his own ancestor sidi Sâid did not succeed in organizing anything in our sector. Several old documents mention the action of marabouts of Taroudant. The legend of sidi Âmer u H'addo even runs over to the other side of the crests, in Idaw Mh'mud and up to Mentaga.

166 The correspondences with the South and with the North do not
619 present the same character. The Seksawa draw their material, their substance, from the South. But their historic calling, just like that of the groups that maintain them, draws them toward the North. This contrast, on the plane of collective and individual psychologies, is perhaps that of the structures and of the event, or, if one wishes, of the sociology and of the chronicle. But this continual contribution from the S. plays still another role. Renewing indefinitely the archaic basis of the cantons, as the latter become exhausted in the vicissitudes that they owe as much to the appeal as to the hostility of the plain, that is, in sum, to the attractions as well as to the harm of the Maghrebi empires, it keeps the terms of the problem intact: the Chleuh /Shluh/ montagnard is always opposed in the same way to the city and Bedouin world. Thanks to this constant rising of strength, he is not won over any more than he succumbs.

[Idma]

/75 cont./

173 175 619 documents, and as historical in the matter as is possible. The Idma of the Seksawa claim to be attached to these Awlâd sidi ᶜAt'a'illah shorfa. With respect to this, they exhibit a copy of an attested affidavit of ṣafar 1087 (1676), a copy verified several times, the last of which in 1178 (1765).

173 175 166 619 According to this genealogy, sixteen generations ago, an immigration from the Anti-Atlas brought five sons of a sherif of the Anti-Atlas, Sidi Yah'ya b. Muh'ammad Maghagh (2),

2. Old Berbère name. Ibn H'azm, Jamharat, Lévi-Provençal ed., 1951, p. 462, l. 21, recognizes the Maghâga as the name of a group; Ibn Khaldûn, tr. Histoire des Berbères /History of the Berbers/, t. I, 1925, pp. 171, 232. Cf. on the name of Jannûn, Ibn H'azm, op. laud., p. 43, ll. 10 and 16 sq. (Idrisids).

to Usikis, from where they spread out through conquest. They bear archaic names: Jannûn, Aftûn, Danûq, Ghazâl, Isân, for which the oral tradition, at this same place in the genealogy, substituted five others, of Arabic aspect. Characteristic doublet. The arrival of the emigrants marks the crossing of a threshold, beyond which normality reigns. The unknown, the sacredness, the oddness -- or the authenticity -- of the appellations remains in the beyond, in a legendary murkiness. To these five immi- [613] grants are linked the present ikhs-s of the Idma, whose identity can be followed almost confidently through the three centuries covered by their archives. The descendants of Mh'and populate Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, those of ᶜAli Usikis and Tasselli, those of ● [1176] ᶜAbd al-Wâh'id Meghdir and Ad'er'd'ur. Sulaymân is the ancestor of the Iborach of Usikis and, in the sixth generation, of the saint of Assttif, Sidi Lh'sen u Mh'and. He is a historic personage whose paraph many documents brought forth from our day still bear. He lived in the second half of the seventeenth century. One can thus place the legendary arrival of the first Idma toward

[Idma]

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[166] /75 cont./
the end of the fifteenth century (3).

3. The Fawâ'id, Justinard tr., 1953, p. 56, register a sheik, Mûsâ at-Tudmâwî, who left the Sous to settle in the Daran. He died in 1003 Heg.: 1595.

[176] The saint of Assttif precedes by six other /76/ generations another Idma saint, from a collateral lineage, Sidi Lh'sen u Bubker of Ad'erd'ur, specialist in the expulsion of spirits. With him, we are at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

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619 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Let us stop for a moment at the site of these two villages of Usikis and Ad'erd'ur, first settlement of the Idma. Usikis was their first stop, from which they progressively spread out. Its dignity is still eminent. It was almost always in this village that the chiefs were recruited. Their designation was brought about in comitia at Inraren Z'dinin, and the college broke up only at Usikis, on the rock called Taunt n-Fad'ma H'ssayn, after the invocation of the saint of Ammern. The village is built in latitudes of a cruel desolation. Everywhere massive escarpments of black schist hang over it. Several clusters of houses, stuck on a puny esplanade, dominate the almost vertical drop of a prodigious staircase of fields. This spurt of human will surges
[103] forth in a general aridity, which crushes it everywhere and which the toponyms themselves express: thus near the village there is a "field of hunger," bur n-lâz', just as a little higher there is a "source of hunger," talâint n-jju^{c}, or a "field of the Jew," iger n-bhenkuk. These derisive appellations aim at conjuring up
[621] misery. But visibly, only the tension of the group succeeds in maintaining life. It is expressed by the connivance of the saints and by a folkloric richness indicating a strong context of rite and legends. It is also expressed in rural order, in municipal quarreling, and in military expansion.

[Idma]

/76 cont./

361 619 The other metropolis of the Idma, Ad'erd'ur, is built at the bottom of a pit that an acropolis dominates toward the S. This agadir was the seat of an old habitat. The persecutions of spirits depopulated it: the devil was at work in the houses. The people were truly delivered only by the intervention of Sidi Lh'sen b. [777] [613] Bubker. Still today, this side is called unlucky and is hardly inhabited any more except by the ikhs of the ait Lqaïd, which leads a life apart. The present village groups its houses in front of the agadir, on a versant exposed to the S. Downstream, another rock in the form of an acropolis, rising in the very bed of the torrent, the Tansmert u Rrumi, passes as having been a fortress of the Christians, former occupants of the valley. At its summit a block of several tons rests in balance. Two others rear a black silhouette that seems to look downstream. A country of dark legends, of cruel memories.

173 619 [795] [796] At a time that one can put at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Idma were still reduced to this small canton, redoubtable, however, by their arms and appetite. Nevertheless, on the other side of the Seksawa, the zaouia of Assttif had already been rendered illustrious by a national saint. Between the two, covering the main valley up to Z'init' and the affluent valleys up to Assttif on one hand, Wanchkrir on the other, reigned the a. Gasa. The history of the Idma, land development, expansion of groups, and structure of the command, is henceforth linked to the expulsion of the "usurpers."

/77/ Still today, popular tradition goes back to this period when the Idma were reduced to two villages and when, either concurrently or alternatively, two lineages, coming from two sons of Maghagh, exercised power. The first two chiefs that are cited are, toward the end of the seventeenth century, Brahim u Jâa Rryun of the ait Uchâwi and Wakrim u Sâid of the Iseqqalen.
173 721 619 They fought against the a. Gasa. The latter invited them to a "banquet-palaver," tiwilt, and massacred forty Idma by surprise. Fortunately the two chiefs were warned by a woman who signaled to them from the top of a rock that there would be killing. They pretended to have forgotten a piece of clothing and slipped away.

[Ait Gasa]
[Ait Lh'sen]

/86 cont./

175 centuries, to the law of the a. Gasa. And the latter were per-
174 haps finally defeated only because they had disregarded the
619 legitimacy of this land.

The Achievement of the Ait Lh'sen

173 /The following two paragraphs are in small type in the orig-
619 inal source./ The a. Lh'sen are Tekna, originally from the Oued Noun /Uad Nun/. They belonged to the Azwâfid', mythical descendants of the eponym ᶜuthmân b. Menda, Almoravide caliph of ᶜAbd Allah b. Yâsîn. Note that there are still some a. Lh'sen among the Tekna. The Tekna, moreover, are Iguzulen, which corresponds to what the a. Lh'sen are: the only Imsifern of the Seksawa (1).

1. V. Monteil, Notes sur les Tekna /Notes on the Tekna/, 1948, p. 13; Justinard, op. laud., at n. 2, p. 68.

La Chapelle (2)

2. In his remarkable Exploration inédite /unpublished Exploration/.

mentions another origin, perhaps, however, intermediate: the a. Lh'sen u. Brahim of the South versant (above Talekjunt and the Mentaga). According to local tradition, the a. Lh'sen would have descended from one Musa, who had two sons: Daud and Mençur.

619 This bipartite classification still functions in the matter of
634 cojuratio. The unity of the a. Lh'sen is great. Their purity,
• [776] guaranteed by their patron Sidi Ah'med u Ali, they say, is ex-
[181] treme. Also the rules for the distribution of land are imposed here with a particular vigor. The whole ensemble is still young, vigorous, conquering. It is divided as follows:

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./

174 619 bought their settlement from the a. Lh'sen, who had just conquered their irrigated ground.

This ground, which remains separated from the first canton occupied by some mixed populations (Demsira, Idaw Semlal, and others, constituting the present Sekrat), was completely wrested from the Demsira by the usual methods. The latter twisted back first to Uchfili, then to the agadir n-Tizumyan n-Tlborjt. This village was so large that it contained simultaneously series of homonyms of 100 persons. Such excess invited bad luck. There soon remained for them no more than the lower valley, where the a. Lh'sen pushed them farther and farther downstream, with the alliance of an old population, the Ih'erdach, who are then found at Tamzedakht and Agawz.

/The following two paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ But here is how the alliance ended. On the occasion of a ceremony undoubtedly matrimonial between a. Lh'sen youths and Ih'erdach girls, right in the middle of the tiwilt, the a. Lh'sen leaped to their arms and massacred the Ih'erdach. The wadi was scurfed with blood. A Negress discovered it and gave the alarm. That day a saint was born, sidi Âbderrah'man u Messfud. The Ih'erdach thus lost Tabratjut. The bourg was taken by force by a new Aymerillot, the valiant Mh'and u Bujmâ, accompanied by his seven sons: he had been promised it in appanage, provided that he seize it. This he did!

[176]

The Ih'erdach subsequently died out at Iferwan, a high place where a small sanctuary of sidi Âbderrah'man is still seen on a peak that appears on the left as one reascends the torrent.

What was eliminated here was not only the Demsira occupant, but also the legitimate owner and the ally. The a. Lh'sen displayed an unnecessary cruelty. It completed their bellicose type. But that is going to pose a problem of purification. The place of the tiwilt is still sinister. The harvests never prosper there: the saint thus decided on it. Is it for this reason that ruined terraces are still seen on the left bank of the torrent? This

[177]

[Ait Lh'sen]

/88 cont./
174 is one Tagund'aft, from which the famous Gund'afa came (1).
619

1. Origin naturally spurned by the latter.

There is also a mound of pebbles, the Rrud'a n-sidi Ah'med u Âli. It is undoubtedly the relic of a lustration. A great saint became /89/ guarantor and patron of the a. Lh'sen. Without his [776] intervention, their crime would not have been pardoned for them. Thus they prosper. From their terrible history, they have preserved only a military tradition and pride in their past. They are found in recent times supporting the ambition of a great chief.

[423] The ground won from the Demsira was allotted among ikhs-s, and traces of this distribution exist today, to the point of presenting nice symmetries. But the lands were not only won by force. Concurrently, they were bought up from the legitimate owners, and numerous documents referring to the ethnic Demsiri are still exhibited in the proceedings between a. Lh'sen and even a. Âbdella. Military prize? granted, but juridical regularization. Violence? granted, but legitimacy. Thus is renewed, across the bloody adventure of men, the mysterious accord of the soil and its peasants.

The Stage of Arrival

121 For the contemporary period, we mean since the beginning of
124 the twentieth century, we simultaneously have at our disposal local witnesses, who put the research in continuity with the oldest tradition, and foreign and critical witnesses: our observers. Now
[631] one thing strikes the latter upon their arrival in the country: the existence of "great caids," like the Mtuggi, and of candidate great caids, like several mountain chiefs. Are they right in attributing such importance to them -- from a scientific viewpoint, of course -- and to put in the foreground the contest between these personal powers and the democratic institution?

Intermittences of Personal Power

173 For this contest was nothing new. The tradition of the Haut Atlas /High Atlas/ preserves numerous lists of chiefs, from which

/129 cont./

114 stating. It is to this that the following notations, which are far
241 from claiming to exhaust the debate, will respond.
789 Often the facts, carefully collected by these ethnologists,
are indicated without statistical context. Is the sacrifice at the
[782] opening of the tillage at Bwabbût' generally practiced, or does
it follow from an exceptional, or only peculiar, attitude? That
is what the suggestive description of Mots et Choses does not
say (3).

3. E. Laoust, Mots et Choses, pp. 315 sq.

And nevertheless that is what would be essential in order to know if the fact results from the magical in the narrow sense of the term, implying a semiclandestine activity of a specialist, or from the religious, that is to say, brings into action a general social function, with reference to the divine.

[776] /130/ On the other hand, does the commentary that ascribes the well-known beliefs in a spirit of the field to these people rest, in the works of E. Laoust, on native expressions or on inductions by the scholar? Certainly, posed in that manner, the question is
[778] captious. But, finally, if the notions of baraka, of good and of
[787] bad augury, and more generally that of sacred, in its specific ambiguity, result from a mass of facts from belief and language, one never finds any conscious expression of them. On the contrary, what one hears professed, and to the point of satiety, is the rationalistic explanation: "We do that because it is a good practical return," or else "because we are thus seeking divine favor." Or even, denials: "We never do that." Certainly, there are only elaboration and reinterpretation in these formulas. But they correspond to the stratum of Islam, which is deep. And the characteristic of a Maghrebi phenomenon is exactly to be amenable to these different orders of ideas. Thus the explanation by Laoust is legitimate, to the extent that it is completed by the contrary explanation.

114 Besides, if one gives the word magic the restrictive sense, in
121 which it was understood above, and which is that of Huvelin for
789

1: Berque--328 Z-5 (ca. 1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/235/

Third Part
Institutions and Values

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/237/ ## Common Aspects and Problems of the Religious Life and of the Juridical Life

I. Local Foundation and Oriental Contribution

A Religious and Juridical Personality

778 114 When Doutté, about fifty years ago, coming from Marrakech by the route of the Dir, crossed the ford of the Seksawa, he noted on the left, becoming visible to him in the high cliffs, the tomb of Lalla Aziza (1).

1. E. Doutté, En tribu /In the tribe/, 1914, p. 248.

For one who knows the country, that is an impossibility. The tomb, overhung on all sides by vertiginous rocks, is visible only from the edges of its cirque, some three hours march to the S. of the ford crossed by the man of Magie et Religion /Magic and Religion/. But let us not hasten either to exult ever the Algerian scholar or to cry out fantasy. His words are truer than the topography, and I am not sure but that, while crossing the Seksawa, the Moroccan guide, looking upstream and kissing his fingers, or raising his hand to his forehead, believed that he had discovered the place of marvels. Not as much is needed for a sociologist in quest of the sacred to note a sanctuary. Our serious cartography perpetuates even more amusing confusions in the Atlas.

778 [133] A secret vehemence vibrates in this landscape quite charged with interdicts. A triangle of high mountains, pointing toward the snows of the Tabgurt, seems to wall in an impasse on the left. No power of the plain, from the Mérinides to the Protectorate, was able to defeat a liberty harshly illustrated by the citadels in [116] ruins that surround it. It is that saints protected it, these saints

/237 cont./
778 about whom a marabout from the S. said to the Sultan in 1882:
776 "They do not want their people to be oppressed" (2).

2. Lieut.-colonel Justinard, Les Ait Ba ᶜAmran /The Ait Ba ᶜAmran/, 1930, p. 106.

181 A closely guarded isolation, vaguely supernatural, has not /238/ failed to react on the physiognomy traditionally attributed to the people and to the site of the valley. This was done in a double sense, according to the very ambiguity of this sort of idea. Cheats, pagans, frauds, and magicians -- the Seksawa are seen as such by their montagnard neighbors, who differ from them pro-
[184] foundly. How their personality contrasts with that, less rich and less intense, also less redoubtable, of the Dwiran, the Demsira, or the Nfifa! The analysis perhaps fails to account for such-and-
[167] such a peculiarity, but the fact is there. Waves of emigrants from the Anti-Atlas and the Sous were able to penetrate the Seksawa, to remake them from within, without succeeding in modifying a character that one is therefore led to link, not to such-and-such an ethnic composition, but to a people's personality and to a country's vocation. Only what is to be understood by these words?

Ritual Coloration of the Valley

175 In the fourteenth century, Ibn Khaldûn echoed the disquieting, but suggestive rumors concerning the Seksawa chefferie /military district/ of his time (1).

1. We have translated this passage integrally in our "Antiquités Seksawa," Hesp., 1953, pp. 387 sq.

In the eighteenth, under the pen of a scholar curiously archeologist, the chronicle of the marabout of Tasaft evokes traits of the

/238 cont./

175 same genre. In the middle of the twentieth, the rebellion of the last independent amghar is based on thaumaturgy: he expected his salvation from squadrons of genii which were heard rustling on the Tichka (2).

2. J. Berque, "Vérité et poésie sur les Seksawa /Truth and poetry from the Seksawa/," R. afr., 1953, pp. 131 sq.

That, it is the chronicle. Underneath is discerned another layer of facts.

539 The good saints had to exorcise the valley of its demons. An amusing legend, in which E. Dermenghem undoubtedly greeted 776 one of the forms of the Psyche myth, is told at Ikis. Sidi Yusef u Buzid taught by day the children of men and by night those of the demons. This upset his household. His wife, curious, followed him one evening and raised herself up to the window of the mosque, the interior of which was lighted by a large fire. Scarcely had she caught a glimpse of the audience, which had a singular appearance, being made up of genii, than the latter vanished. The woman suddenly became blind and died the following day. The saint pursued his edifying life. Today his descendants, even far away in the plain, where they go each summer to hire themselves out for the harvest, are protected by him: woe unto anyone who harms them; woe unto them if they harm others. Similar legends of expulsion or edification at Tabratjut, Ad'erd'ur.

121 /239/ Would it be yielding to the temptation that induces every observer to show the originality of his subject were one to hold up such a body of evidence? There comes out from it, for the Seksawa, a very special coloration, and, moreover, there would be the danger, in the present state of our knowledge, of trying to define beyond measure. And as for explaining, we are still far from that. Nevertheless, a certain number of traits will restrain the analysis.

776 First of all, the country is a country of "old people," or "of 823 other people," that is, of spirits, more or less personal, attached

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776 823 to its sites, to its history, and, even more concretely, to its soil (1).

[172]

1. Often linked to the existence of grottoes, ruins, etc. H. Basset, Le Culte des grottes au Maroc /The Cult of the Grottoes in Morocco/, 1920, pp. 96 sq., on "the psychology" of the genii, "these neighbors of a very special genre."

[151] When, at the end of the last century, a man from the Seksawa left his country, he carried with him a powder composed of a handful of native soil and some of its herbs. He would have taken neither food nor drink abroad without throwing in it a pinch of the mixture.

181 A very "ancient" country, in fact, and with an individuality attested to for some eight centuries by the written sources themselves, which restore, from the Almohades to the twentieth century, the permanence of a name and of an autonomy. And undoubtedly also of a tradition and of a legitimacy, even though obliterated by decadence, and having become little by little indecipherable, at least to the foreigner. They are inferred, however, from facts of observation. In those societies with a tumultuous past, a theme of territorial authenticity persists. How is this joined with another theme, much more current, that of the genealogical fictions of groups? No attempt will be made to elucidate this for the moment. Our study of the one or of the several social psychologies in the Maghreb is still too little advanced for one to be able to do anything here other than to suggest.

"Evil country," "venerable country": the doublet reveals a strong magico-religious tenor. But we have been lead to circumscribe the part of magic in its agricultural life. And, on the other hand, the personifications of the sacred prove to be most restricted there. The system shows great morphological vigor and at the same time a certain poverty of myths. Two correlative traits without doubt.

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000 correlative traits without doubt. The religious life of the Sek-
771 sawa has undoubtedly been hierarchized for a long time. At the
776 top, a national saint. Far below, a saint of more ordinary type, Sidi Mh'and of Ammern; accessit: Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, recent historical personage; still lower the classic plebe of "good little saints." In rite, as in belief, vigorous centralization, but, by /240/ that itself, elimination, purification. The great majority of these plebeians of prayer remain without visage, without cult, indeed without name. Over the great ones is exercised a criticism which springs not only from the malice of the milieu or from problematical orthodox influences, but undoubtedly also from the imperious polarization of the system.

778 On the other hand, the nonfigurative sacred abounds. It has
782 as support, very often, these little village mosques from where, it is said, the prayer ascends directly to God, whereas in passing by way of its saints it risks hitting only the archangel Gabriel, Sidna Jebrir. The pious explanation leaves out the communal character of the sanctuary. But this character is very important, and very
779 likely the most ancient. On this level of local life traits of indivision are always observed among religious and juridical rites. In spite of so many external influences, and internal transformations, this is still in many respects one of the foundations of the life of the groups. Only, in religious matters, as in juridical matters, this narrowly local life is integrated into an ensemble which acts upon it at least as much as it acts upon it.

Situation of Seksawa Law in Relation to Its Neighbors

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[829] The Seksawa feel a fundamental difference between their law
[184] and that of their neighbors, like them old sedentary peoples of the western Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/, such as especially Idaw Mh'mud, Demsira, Dwiran, people of the Haut Asif el-Mâl and of the Aghbar. They fail to analyze it. In fact, their law fits into the Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble. It stands out only by differences in detail. But they are vigorous and, so to speak, systematic.

121 /248 cont./
not so simple. It will be necessary to split up the two studies, because religion and law present, in their present state, the trace of different evolutions and even of different systematizations.

/249/ II. Nonfigurative Sacred "and Prelaw" (1)

1. I have borrowed the expression of prelaw from L. Gernet, "Droit et prédroit en Grèce ancienne /Law and prelaw in ancient Greece/," Ann. Soc., 1948-49, pp. 21 sq.

The Sacred and the Rural Order

539 716 823 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ "One day -- this was in the time of the siba -- an old black man came to us seeking refuge. We offered him shelter without otherwise asking about his origin. He was treated rather meanly. How shocked we were the next day to learn from one of our servants that he had spent the entire night in a trance! My father went to him to apologize for the poor fare. We began to fear vengeance from this unrecognized personage. But all our offers could not overcome his humility. He revealed to us that he knew all the places of the earth and proposed describing them [778] to us. From that time his saintly quality began to impress us. My father, eager to profit from his baraka, led him into our orchard, which lacked water. The old man assured us that a hitherto hidden spring would gush forth there if one dug at the place that he [675] would indicate. Still better, he offered to make a contract with us. If water were found, it would be necessary to furnish him an annual payment. In the opposite case, he put himself under the obligation to us to demand, in writing, that he be buried alive in this hole that we would have dug in vain. The contract was drawn up in good and due form, and my father set off for Marrakech to recruit workers and to buy tools. Upon his return, the

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539 saint had died. We have never known the exact site of the spring,
776 and, since that time, we have vainly searched in every corner of
823 the orchard, but undoubtedly the water is no longer there, now that the saint has gone."

This account was given by a mature and sober personage, our contemporary to boot (2).

[634] 2. The amghar /chief/ of the a. Abdella.

538 Its value is only more striking because of that. Not only a psy-
776 chological document concerning the narrator, who is not at all a
823 good woman amused by stories. But, more objectively, an anec-
789 dote illustrating the functioning of the sacred on the agricultural plane. That is a plane essential to this society. It constantly explains hydraulic phenomena by the intervention of a saint. It is thus that a rock, obstructing the ditch of Meghdir, will one fine day be bored as a tunnel by a miraculous fox, whom Sidi Mh'nd animates. The latter is the great discoverer of springs of the whole country, which contributes to the classicism of his kind. His "crook," takurayt, planted in earth, caused to shoot forth the fine resurgence which, /250/ between T'abaya and Igernssuq, reanimated the bed of the river, absolutely dry immediately upstream.

Such practices as these burst forth with a color that vividly reminds one of the Mediterranean Antiquity. Some of them have
823 been reported above. The most striking is this libation of flour
782 and milk that certain high-mountain families pour into the communal "basin" at the opening of the irrigations. At Tasa, for example, a member of the old lineage of the ait Ggahi carries the vessel to the chcharij and pours it there, while saying only one word, the bismillah. The operation is designated by a stereotyped term, ifyed', which may be translated as "expulsion," by comparing it with its factitive açifed. If the bearer, on the way,
[784] has pronounced a single word, the operation is no longer valid: fine case of ritual mutism, euphèmei as the Greeks said.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/254 cont./

794 796 533 ᶜazzeb, for which correspondences are abundant in Maghrebi ethnology (1).

1. Mzabite clerks are Iᶜazzâben. The verb indicates segregation, whether it be basically moral, as in the above case, or results from economic features, as in the case of the latifundium with an absentee master and forming, in relation to the village, an "écart" /place apart/ (Maghreb: ᶜazib; Egypt: ᶜezbe).

128 But one cannot enlarge here on an order of practices in which are distinguished the exercise of a universalist religion and that of a speciality of initiatory aspect. Even if it is significant to find at the outset this genre of facts at the threshold of a study of the ritual life in a montagnard group, other traits touching more directly on the life of the group as such must hold one's attention for the moment.

776 (634) The space of the canton is dominated, either in its subdivisions or in its ensemble, by such-and-such a saint. Patron inherited from ancient traditions, like Lalla Aziza, protectress of all the Seksawa, or contractual patron, like sidi Ah'med u Ali for the a. Lh'sen. These patron saints often have exclusive tastes and try to eliminate one another. The man struggles in this rivalry. So much the better for him if he succeeds in the right choice. For there, too, there is a portion of outbidding, guile, and gambling.

778 Moreover, each group founds the bulk of its religious existence upon the qualification of certain places. First of all, those where one takes an oath, and which common opinion hierarchizes according to the /255/ greater or lesser gravity of the ordeals that are celebrated there. These are mosques or anonymous mausoleums designated only by their function. Other sites are reputed benefic or malefic, protectors or avengers, according to the ambivalence of this genre of ideas, and completed quite often by a figure or by a saint's name.

[Ait Lh'sen]

/255 cont./

000 778 794 2/2 by a figure or by a saint's name. But there are also locations whose ritual importance results from the fact that they are the seat of the activity of the t't'olba. They share in the prestige of this ministry at the same time as those that are linked to a certain intensity of the communal life: "permanence" constituted for the Koranic psalmody, seasonal agapae, etc. Most of the time they are mosques. Hence the complexity of meaning of such a cadre.

The distinction of these diverse categories can in fact only be schematic. In many cases, naturally, they coincide. The agrarian function, which is the most prevalent among the saints, often interferes with the juridical and municipal function, characteristic of the montagnard mosques. The t't'aleb frequently effects the liaison between these diverse places and these diverse ideas (1).

1. We shall repeatedly come back to the Chleuh /Shluh/ t't'aleb apropos law, religion, individual depassments, commune. Cf. on his subject the excellent in. /unpublished/ monograph by Charles Dominique, "Les Tolba du Sous," CHEAM, 1938.

778 [776] In a. Lh'sen, out of 34 of these rite "supports," a number undoubtedly inferior to the reality and which indicates only the most important, but a number already considerable for a collectivity of some 400 foyers, one counts only two saints with a determinate personality, 5 indeterminate but bearing a name, and 7 whose name expresses only the function: "of the river, of the col, of the law oath," etc. Some twenty others are only "mosques." Expressive ratio: it would be even more so if one added to these ritual places the still more ample mass of those which some designation, personal or not, brings into relation with the sacred by one title or another, and which survive at the very least in the toponymy.

In Iguntar, the material sign manifesting the existence of "marabouts" at Tamd'a Ugenni (which means something like a

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778 "mare au diable" /"pond for the devil," pond miles away/) is nothing other than a pile of branches and pebbles opposite the village of Tagenza. In this case, as in that of the rival sanctuary of "Monsieur le Saint," Sidi Lwali, at Wanz'id', no personification, and not even by name. The efficiency is by no means linked to the very fiction of a saint, were it as indefinite. This is proved by the example of the mosque of Ifesfas, whose powers and even the legendary physiognomy /256/ offer an instructive contrast with the habitual imprecision of all this hagiology. It is so redoubtable for false oaths that the prudence of the canton forbids there the practice of religious ordeals. In fact, it is told that one time, for a matter of 12 dinars, it caused to perish not only the 12 coswearers, but also their 12 partners, for the outburst of its power "so harsh," icheqqâ, does not stop of course at subjective responsibility. Similar traits, although of less anecdotal glow, apropos the mosque of Awines and that of Tagenza.

Figurative Sacred and Nonfigurative Sacred

778 One is thus led to distinguish a figurative sacred from a non-
776 figurative or anonymous sacred. The latter is largely predominant. At the two extremes, the individualized saint and the anonymous ritual place. But the name does not constitute a true criterion. In fact, its presence no more suffices to promote the rite than its absence eliminates all legendary personalities. As one has seen, this is the case for the terrible mosque of Ifesfas.

776 Another distinction is to be made between saints with descent, such as this sidi Musa of Wanz'id', master of hurricanes, and whose distant sons always retain a certain qualification, and those to whom no lineage refers. On the one hand, personages with genealogical identity; on the other, anonymous agents of the sacred. And it is not without interest that the first type, which is the very one of the hero, would, in this agnatic society, be both so rare and, where it is found, so delineated.

[Ait Abdella]

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Name of the groups officiating	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Time of celebration
Bul^{c}wân, Taqennurt.	Sidi Ghânem.	This is a bu qobrayn, that is, he has two tombs, one here, the other in H'âh'a (Zaouia Isuqin). For officiants, he has people of Idaw Zemzem and those of Wanz'ig and Ad'erras (Mtugga) who bring him an annual victim. He would have manâqib.	Chchard': per threshing floor, the first basketful of barley.	March. At the threshings.
Taqennurt.	Sidi Mh'and Aregrag.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
Tuz'z'umt and Zaouia In'ançalen.	Sidi Sâid Ah'ançal.		Mârûf: two goats, one of which is slaughtered at the zaouia and the other at the place named Qerqur n-a ben Nâçer.	February.

[Ait Abdella]

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221 241 776 778 782 796	Bul^{c}wân (ikhs of the a. si Mh'and u Bella) and Agawz (ikhs of the a. bu Hammis).	Sidi Abderrah'man u Sâid.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: 5 to 10 goats. Chchard': a takharrubt of barley per foyer, some walnuts, some almonds.	September. At the harvest.
	Bul^{c}wan. a. Wagenna. Taz'z'umt. Agawz.	Mosques timezgadiwin.		Mârûf, biannual.	At the time of the fruits and at that of the harvest.
	Agawz.	Sidi bu Çwalh'i.	Ancient, indeterminate.	Mârûf: a goat.	September.
	The ensemble of the a. Abdella.	Sidi Âli Aregrag: sidi Abderrah'man. (Zaouias of Tiburiin and Talâint.)	Linked to the legend and genealogy of the Regraga.	Mârûf: a bovine.	First Sunday in February, eight days before the mârûf of sidi Sâid, at the confines of the Azaghar of the Mtugga.

/258/ Thus, out of a dozen ritual places, including mosques, one single personalized saint, Sidi Ghânem, and still blurred in some indefinite haze.

The animal sacrificed to Sidi Ghânem gives rise to a precise division. The descendants of the saint have the skin and a piece of the thigh. The agape consumes half the entrails, to which is joined the collected bread. The rest, divided among all those sacrificing, is taken home and eaten.

In Imt'ddan:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Nature of the dues or feast	Period of celebration
Tamt'ddit.	Ah'med u Amer.	Indeterminate. The a. Izzid (Imt'ddan) are linked to him.	Mârûf.	Summer.
			Mârûf.	With the rains.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tagunit and Tamezgurt.	Sidi Messâud u Âbdallah.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Sidi Âzza.	Indeterminate.	Mârûf.	Departure to mountain pastures.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.
Tamezgurt.	Sidi bu Lqnadil.	Indeterminate, but going back to the a. Gasa.	Mârûf.	Summer.
	Mosque.		Agape.	Irrigation of the barley.

[Imt'ddan]
[Ait Musa]

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221 241 776 778 782 796	Tinwalin.	Sidi Borrja. Mosque.	Indeterminate.	Agape.	Yenneyr, irrigation of the barley.
	All the Imt'ddan.	Tamejlocht.	Mansion of Lalla Aziza.	Rite of absolution.	Irrigation of the barley.

The indetermination is general here, even though most of the saints are linked to former occupants of the country, habitual homage to the antiquity of habitat. This indetermination is at its peak in the Frazerian rite of the Tamjlocht.

/259/ In a. Musa:

Name of the groups serving	Name of the sanctuary	Characteristics of the saint, if there is occasion	Period of celebration
Igernssuq.	Regraga.	Indeterminate.	
	Sidi Brahim u Sliman.	--	
	Lalla Mbarka u H'med.	--	
	Timezgida Iregragen.	--	
Tannammert and lower a. Musa.	Sidi bu Merwan.	Indeterminate, place of taking oaths.	The saints have a summer mârûf, and the mosques, two agapae: "at the time of the turnips" and "at the time of the gourds." /Continued on next page./

[Ait Musa]
[Ait H'acduyws]

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221 241 776 778 982 796	T'abya.	Mosque Sidi Borrja or Cheikh n-Tgemmi.	Ind. This is "the lord of the house" or "of the tower" or "of hope."	Certain saints, like Sidi bu Merwan and Sidi Yah'ya, had two mârûf-s. The first has fallen into desuetude. The other saints each have one mârûf.
		Timezgida Ugni.	Ind. "Monsieur light."	
		Sidi Tifawt.		
	Tabratjut.	Sidi Yah'ya. Sidi Ghanen. Sidi Mh'and.	Indeterminate.	
		Uh'ormi.	Ind. The saint "of the asylum."	

In a. H'adduyws:

776 778 /The following paragraphs, through d, are in small type in the original source./ The ritual places are split up there, almost exhaustively, as follows:

a) Saints with personal figure and with descent: 4. They are Sidi Amer u H'addô and Sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the greatest; an obscure "Regragi," but claimed as ancestor by the ikhs of the a. Umzil at Fensu, Sidi Bensu; the ancestor, full of imagry, of a part of Ikis: Sidi Yusef u Buzid;

b) Unnamed and for the most part called Regraga. Among them, 5 "Sidi Borrja." This is perhaps merely a saint of the old tower, of the old little fort (ar /Arabic/: burj). But from this saint of ruins a pun makes a saint "of good hope" (ar: rajâ). Let us mention finally the Regraga of Wawnsawt;

[Ait H'adduyws]

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776 778 c) Three mosques particularly armed with powers, and presenting along with that of Ifesfas, which has been mentioned above, the common character /260/ of being built outside a village: perhaps a trace of rites putting the taqbilt more directly into play. Thus, the timezgida Wissil of Uzaga, the t. Wuzir of Tinerghat, the Sidi Ljâmâ of Alus. One is to note this last name marking a sort of intermediary stage between two orders of ideas: it is a "Saint-the-Mosque";

d) Twenty-one "village mosques."

This would be a total of 34 ritual places, among which only 4 are amenable to a personal hagiology. Not even one in eight!

[162] [613] The a. H'adduyws number some 2,700 inhabitants, divided into some thirty ikhs-s. It should be noted that the a. Khaled and the a. Ggahi of Tasa have for ancestors the two Yah'ya, whose tombs are shown and on the subject of whom the rudiments of a legend are told. They are not saints, however. And, moreover, these stories of ancestors are quite exceptional.

121 128 798 It would be a wager to pursue this quantitative approach to the sacred in Seksawa. It necessarily omits nuances and suffers from multiple sources of imprecision or error. It was attempted, after all, only from a reaction against the descriptive excesses, the generalizing samplings of a certain sociology.

776 778 [162] Nevertheless let us confront the results obtained: The sample dealt with 8 or 9 cantons, a. H'adduyws, I. Geryun, Imt'ddan, a. Lh'sen, Ibuban, Sekrat, Iguntar, a. Musa, that is, a total population of about 8,000 souls. For about a hundred ritual places, one counts less than ten saints with personal figure, a great majority of anonymous, indeterminate ones. And one verifies the predominant part of the "sacred of timezgida," where it is undoubtedly legitimate to see a communal sacred.

779 346 671 Now if one bears in mind that, even at present, this timezgida remains par excellence the place of the life of the group, one finds that an important part of the law of these societies can

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as far as suicide (1).

1. Further interferences between law, magic, agrarian life, around the agg^{w}mi, whose placing in defense is put "under the guarantee" of a saint.

The past, even recent, of the Seksawa yields numerous facts of this order. Their variety and, in certain respects, their incoherence cannot conceal the fact that they originate from a stage of archaic indivision among the most corroded modes of the agrarian, religious, and juridical life.

/268/ III. Patronages of Saints, Natural Periodicity and Juridical Obligation

Another Stage of Rites: The Dues To the Saints

If on the local plane the balance sheet is so unfavorable to personal holiness, it is not the same for another order of facts: the liaisons of patronage that are established between the group and external saints. This externality in fact seems to be an essential condition: whether the chchard' (1)

1. Ar.: chart', "stipulation." The use of this word in the sense of dues to saints is ancient. Cf. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 151, l. 4 de fine, concerning a saint of the Haouz in the sixteenth century.

paid to a Seksawa saint, Lalla Aziza or Sidi Mh'and, for example, depends on a sort of federalism between different Seksawa cantons, or -- the most common case -- such-and-such a group, such-and-such a subgroup, even such-and-such a family, separately, freely, and with all the appearances of juridical spontaneity, takes up a

776 /268 cont./
794 subscription for the protection of a foreign personage; and this
[571] personage is not always a compatriot or a neighbor, for no one is
[634] a prophet in his country. But for the moment let us reserve this aspect, geographical in a way, in order to study in a little detail the manner in which the institution presents itself within definite cantons.

792 During the dangerous periods of the siba, a classic function
728 of the holiness, or of his beneficiaries, was to play the role of
175 patron, guarantor, or conciliator in disputes between groups. This is what an author from the Sous has named "the extinction of the fires of public disturbances," it'fâ' nîrân ath-thâ'irât bayna'n-nâs (2).

2. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. II, p. 52,
1. 11.

Thus an act of 1079 Heg.: 1668 shows the marabouts descending from Sidi ᶜAyâd of T'amast (Ud Berreh'il, in the valley of the Sous) at work. The Idaw Geryun and the Iqorrân, former occupants, were in conflict. The latter had to retreat to Idaw Mçat't'og. One day, it was the octave of the Aid, they had assembled on the az'allo for the collective prayer when the I. Geryun, disguised as women, attacked them. Whence a series of /269/ inexpiable vendettas. Then the marabouts intervened. They fixed a limit by the implantation of the "crook of God," takurayt n-rbbi (cf. ar. /Arabic/ ᶜukkâz in the same sense).
[784] They matched this operation with terrible imprecations against anyone who violated the truce: God would pursue the guilty one and his descendants to complete extinction, h'atta yanqarid'û min
[681] ad-dunyâ. On a more temporal plane, the infraction would be penalized by a fine of 1,000 ounces, to be paid to the descendants of the saint.

776 A number of other documents retrace less colorfully analogous
792 operations. It is very often Sidi Mh'and who is on the scene, and
728 that is in conformity with his passe-partout personality. His descendants, along with those of the saint of Assttif, regularly stand

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796 792 728 security for the civic life of the Idma: elections, warlike or peaceful proceedings, etc. Sometimes, and this is an interesting case, the intervention presents a more precise character, that of legislation. I find a detailed example of this only in the Haut /Upper/ Dwiran, truthfully speaking contiguous to our domain. According to an act of 1052 Heg.: 1642, Sidi ᶜAbd al-Karîm al-Masnâwî (1)

1. Is this nasab to be compared to the one that certain members of the Zaouia of Dilâ' bore precisely during this period? The coincidence would be disturbing.

681 628 codified the relations between the a. Rrays and the a. Mezgur. This is a penal tariffication of the ordinary type, but offering the originality of resulting from an agreement between villages, under a saint's ministry.

793 796 The role of these personages in the assembly of rather vast groups by an operation which is properly a foundation has not, truthfully speaking, given rise among the Seksawa, whose monarchic unification undoubtedly goes back at least to the thirteenth century, to legends as typical as, for example, that of Sidi Brahim of Tighanimin in the I. T'anan (2).

2. Very rich legend of a founding saint, recorded by De Leyris, "Le mariage en Idaw T'anan /Marriage in Idaw T'anan/," in. /unpublished/ CHEAM, 1950. This theme of the foundation is current in North Africa. The most celebrated case is that of Moulay Idris. But it is not the clearest, owing to a powerful urban etiology. Analysis will be simpler in the case of synoecisms of bourgs or of rural groups. Cf., for example, C. Trumelet, L'Algérie légendaire, 1892, pp. 118, 121, 180, 181, 184, etc., and Les saints

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/footnote 2 continued/ de l'Islam, 1881, pp. 234, 241, 336. R. Montagne, Les Berbères et le Makhzen dans le Sud du Maroc /The Berbers and the Makhzan in the South of Morocco/, 1930, p. 169.

(628) But the equilibrium between groups, although of complex base, often lets one perceive its hagiological guarantees. That is conjectured in the story of the elimination of the a. Gasa, brought about, to the profit of the Idma, by a malediction, ddu ᶜâ, of the saint of Z'init'.

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The dues to the saints take on either a commutative or a supererogatory and facultative aspect. The passage from one of these forms to the other is seen particularly in the sense of the weakening of an originally stipulated obligation, which becomes a voluntary gift. /270/ It is in this way that, beneficiaries of an ancient chchard', the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran reap no more in a. Musa than facultative presents upon application. In addition, it happens that the same saint collects contractual dues on some products, and only facultative ones on others. Thus for Lalla Aziza who, titulary in Haut a. Musa of a cens on the cereals, collects only at the discretion of the donors a jumuᶜa of butter, that is, the pat churned during the first Friday of the milking season.

To this complexity of content are added other nuances, those that result from infinite variations between cantonal subdivisions concerning the service of the saints. We shall indicate some of them farther below.

In what concerns the recipients of the chchard', new diversity. It is in this way that the a. Musa honor as Seksawa saints Lalla Aziza and Sidi Mh'and. But they adjoin to them a peripheric saint, Sidi bu Abdelli, from Messid in Dwiran, who collects a quarter of a measure of barley per ghrâra, "load," a kharruba of maize per foyer, plus a goat. On the first Sunday in April, at the zaouia of Talâint, the Regraga profit by a ddurt, "end-of-cycle feast," said to be from Sidi Bukhâri, begun in Chyâd'ma.

/270 cont./

776 794 The a. Sograti (Haut Dwiran) receive no more than facultative gifts. It is the same for the Nâçiriyya of Tamgrût, indeed fallen from their former preponderance.

It would be difficult and, I believe, futile to try to date the origin of these dues which, in the case of the chchard', evoke a consensual dispute between the flock and the saint. The latter is bound to protect the group according to his little speciality in exchange for what we would call in commercial terms a "subscription." It is to the "ancestors," a vague and dilatory expression, that these obligations, it is said, date back. What is striking, in any case, is the total diversity that reigns here as much in what concerns the extension of the group of officiating ministers as in the mode of relation instituted, as in the material of the cens or its proportion in relation to the harvest.

/The next six paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Thus the Imt'ddan are par excellence the servants of Lalla Aziza. Each foyer owes her the first basketful of agricultural products at the clearing away of the threshing floor (cereals) or of the pile (fruit). These first-fruit offerings are carried ceremoniously to Z'init' on the first Thursday in March: this is called a ṣṣadaqa, but it also gives rise, with the people of Z'init', to a tinubga, that is, a syssitia, as was said in classical Antiquity. [571] The relations between these two groups are in fact complex: relations of religious co-operation regulated down to the details. If the Imt'ddan provide the meat for the banquet, the people /271/ of Z'init' provide the bread. The event has even given rise to an etiological legend.

793 776 794 782 During the course of an expedition in Haut Gedmiwa, the Seksawa one day found themselves in danger. Encircled by the enemy, they could no longer hope for help. One of them had the idea of consecrating to Lalla Aziza, in the event that he escaped, an income of two loaves of bread on the day of sacrifice. Immediately a dark cloud, accompanied by a downpour and thunder, fell between the combatants, and screened the flight of the Seksawa. It is for this reason that on the day of the sacrifice

773 /271 cont./
776 the people of Z'init' henceforth give 24 loaves of bread apiece,
794 instead of 22 as before. The anecdote seems like an excerpt
782 from Pausanias.

776 But the Imt'ddan do not restrict their homage to Lalla Aziza
794 alone. They furnish Sidi Âbdallah u Sâid of the a. Tamment
[431] 1/30 of their cereals, a similar portion going to their mosques,
[735] and still another to the poor. In addition, each foyer pays a kid every two years.

They also give the descendants of Sidi ᶜAyad, still in the Sous, offerings of a discretionary amount, but owe him a feast every year and a kid every two years. The village of Tagunit, and it alone, pays a cens to the neighboring zaouia of Assttif. Lastly, a sheep is sent to the fqih of the Mez'u'd'a for "Easter," that is, for his tafaska (oblation of the Aid Ççghîr).

The differentiation of the recipients is therefore extreme, like that of the donors, even within a small canton. The proportionality observed concerning these parts of the harvest itself is to be noted. Here 1/30.

In the a. Lh'sen, it is the rhythm of one measure per 80 tin s-tmanin that is applied for the dues in barley and maize; one for 100 counted for the nuts, etc. With regard to the "Friday" of butter, the rite is generally observed.

794 It is in the a. Lh'sen that examples will be taken up again in order to study another aspect, that of the remittance to the beneficiaries. In general, the latter divide among themselves by geographic sector the benefices of the chchard' called tisura,
794 equivalent copied from the ar. /Arabic/ futûh'ât. They inherit
437 them, distribute them, mortgage their revenues, sell them, or assign them by drawing lots, as if they were dealing with a mobilizable right: and, in fact, this is what it is. So true is it that the institution of the Atlas juxtaposes in clever shales, if I may venture to say it, the most diverse orders of ideas. In the case at hand, the "mystical" aspect and profane aspect adhere closely. The alienability of a transferable share is one with the ritual entity. Commercialization and the sacred are juxtaposed

/272 cont./

Directions, Areas, and Cycles

776 794 619 [181] It is not that the narrowly particularized life of the canton is not linked with the whole space of the Sous, of the Drâ, of the Anti-Atlas. Mystical sutures link, without one's always being able to explain how, or why, the domain of the Seksawa with the vast world of the South. Isolationists through their history, they have remained, for the hagiology, in contact with the outside. Let us note, this outside is solely the South. The matter is so marked that at the heart of a particular cycle, that of Sidi Sâid u Abdennâim, their fervor has abandoned the father, man of the North and of the West, in order to be attached to the son, who has his sanctuary in the a. Tamment on a tributary of the right bank of the Sous.

776 794 These devotions are not unilateral. A saint of the Seksawa, that of Assttif, has his descendants benefit from definite dues, or, more broadly, from discretionary offerings in the surrounding tribes. Especially the ones of what one can call the circum-Tichka ensemble.

794 484 /The next three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ This marabout of course does not enjoy a cens in his own taqbilt of the Idma: he is only an importer of currency, we might say. He collects a cens from the a. Wagunsan, the Idaw Kais, the Idaw Mçat't'og, /273/ part of the Imdlawen, of the Tigguga, of the a. H'adduyws, of the a. Gasa, of the a. Tkssit, of the Imlwan, of the Iwensekten, of the Amismatert, of the a. Gâyer, of the a. Lh'sen, of the Sekrat and of Iguntar. Let us follow him on one of his annual trips. At the Mîlâd he goes to the zaouia of the Derqâwa of Araz'z'en in Arghen — the fatherland of Ibn Toumert — passing by the sanctuary of sidi Abdallah u Sâid. In January he travels through the a. Semmeg, makes a pilgrimage to the tomb of Sidi Bubker u Mh'and at Tirk (Amzel). In March he circulates on the S. reverse of the Tichka. Then there he is in Haut /Upper/ Gedmiwa, Aghbar, Ogdemt. The perimeter of 527 attraction is vast: strange thing, there is no mârûf at the zaouia. The latter has remained outside of the movement which, around

/273 cont./

527 1900, impelled the great amghars to create musems, "periodical patronal fairs."

What relation there was between this ritual organization and the tyrannical phenomenon on the one hand, the spiritual crisis from which resulted the tardy élan of the "Blue Men" that conquered our Mangin on the other hand: for the moment we know nothing about it, but it is to be studied. Still, the fact remains that Lh'ŝjj Hflď created the musem of Ammem, Umulid that of sidi Lh'sen u Tiqqi, the great Mtuggi that of Tawlukult, which he wisely inserted in the seasonal cycle of the western Dir. But the zaouia of Assttif remained outside these innovations. This re-
794 484 serve is part of its originalities, to which we shall return. Let us remember for the moment only this example of fiscal peregrination, of geographical activity of the marabout.

• 776 794 The house of Assttif is the only one to enjoy a clientele from beyond the mountains. The hagiological fame of Lalla Aziza extends far beyond the Seksawa, one will see: but the service of the saint has remained at a stage, if I may venture to say it, purely national, which confirms an impression already recorded.

In sum, in all this the Seksawa rather cut a figure of clients, and of clients from the South. The matter is worth noting, for farther down, in the Dir, other axes intervene. It is in this way that the Mez'ud'a serve a company of saints drawn up from Chichaoua to Marrakech /Marrakesh/ by way of Tameçloh't, and that certain Intamlin (Mtugga) honor sidi Sâid u Âbdennâim (1);

> 1. Dawh'at an-nâchir, tr., p. 176. His son, ᶜAbd Allah b. Saᶜfd, who repelled the advances of the Sâadian, lived in the Deren at the very period of the document, pp. 155, 178.

and it is moreover among them that we have discovered a text which will be utilized below, and relative to the great ancestor whose zaouia is still an important religious center in a. Daud

/273 cont./

796 794 (H'âh'a). Imintanout, which constitutes, at the outlet of the col, the turntable for all this hagiology, knows two directions: that of the South with the Nâçirî, and that of the East with the saint of Tameçloh't.

Second aspect: that of the more or less great density of the bonds. Of all the Mtugga, only the Intamlin, and nothing but a [181] part /274/ among them, serve a foreign saint. The haughty independence of the tribe thus manifests itself again in that (1).

[175]

1. Has it been thus at every epoch? The western part of the tribe seems, in the sixteenth century, to have participated actively in the jihâd. Cénival identifies at Tamalukt the Culeihat el-Muridin of Léon, Sour in., Port., t. I, p. 765, n. 1. Besides, one of the near successors of al-Janûnî, ᶜAbd al-Karîm b. ᶜUmar al-Fallâh', is called at-Tikkî at the same time as al-H'âh'î, Mumtiᶜ al-asmâᶜ, 1305, p. 45, l. 2 de fine. The ritual personality of a group therefore varies not only with its morphology, but also with its history. But we are only rarely equipped to follow these relations with sufficient precision.

Inversely, among the Seksawa, the people of Sekrat make use of all the patronages possible, local and outside, and set the price on it. They have vowed no less than "twelve Fridays of butter" to [634] various saints. In a general fashion the principal concern of the [619] Seksawa bears on their cantonal saints, and evidently on the national saint in particular, whose cult reacts on all the rest of their ritual life.

792 But if there is tribal stiffness or particularism, there is also [794] participation in vast hagiological areas which imperious silhou- [184] ettes dominate. These are, it seems, two strongly contrasting

/276 cont./

794 875 212 Sometimes, on the contrary, he collects the right to a preference share from the harvest: 1/40 as in a. Lh'sen, 1/30 as in Imt'ddan, etc. /277/ Just as the dues to the saints establish, not the rudiments, but a meticulous system of fiscality, the recompense of the t't'olba, like the collection and the management of the dues, properly establishes in the group an outline of administration. That fully emerges from regular institutions, such as the periodic slaughtering of fresh meat, luzi^{c}t, itself in close relations, though not constant, with the sacrifice to the saints, tighersi. There, as we have shown elsewhere (1),

[231] [675]

1. J. Berque, "Un glossaire arabo-chleuh du Deren (XVIII^{e} siècle)," R. afr., 1950, pp. 383 sq., where these ceremonies are described in full. Bibl. of luzi^{c}t, p. 383, n. 25.

the contractual aspect, appearing in notarial technique, predominates over all the others.

794 675 [585] It is the same for the "stipulations" to the saints, chchard'. One will note the identity of this term with that designating the authorized marriage settlement to the bride over and above the amerwas. Thus there we are in full agreement. An act recorded

175 794 776 675 [796] at the sanctuary of sidi Abderrah'man b. Messâud, in the Mtugga, illustrates the way in which the great saint of the a. Daud, sidi Sâid u Abdennâim, founder of a "maraboutic principality" in the Sous, used it to the end of his days. He summoned the H'âh'a and the Mtugga to his bedside. After a pious homily, he requested of them the annual celebration of a mârûf at the beginning of the month of "Berbère /Berber/ March," mars ^{c}ajâmî (sic). They agreed in a great burst of contrition. And of each tribe to take it upon itself spontaneously to pay to the descendants of the saint -- that one barley, that one butter or oil. The whole was styled khidma, "service," and churût', "stipulations." That took place during the tenth century of the Hegira, that is, our sixteenth century. And although precisely this saint has no client among our Seksawa, the text applies to them equally. It indicates

/277 cont./

the usual procedure of these obligations of group to patron. Such testimony is rare: the beneficiaries keep them secret (2).

2. We have been able, however, to procure for ourselves at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a one of these acts, which we reproduce as Figure 10, page 390.

Perhaps even many of these contracts are pure etiology of a custom in being and for which one should have tried to place the origin and to find the explanation.

Let us pass now to a second element of institution: these mâruf-s of which there has already been mention many times. This word, used here rather than that of musem, has been attested since an ancient epoch and paradoxically combines the Koranic notion of "good" and that of "customary usage." Veritable play on words, which seems intended, since a number of customary codifications have feigned to be based on it and sometimes even yet it is invoked by /278/ /Fig. 10 appears here/ /279/ innovating jurists. The mârûf is the seasonal rite incumbent on a group with regard to a saint. It usually includes a blood sacrifice, tighersi, but differs from other gatherings, such as the tinubga or tiwilt, which have no religious import. The chchard' is found in the old acts in the form of testamentary prescriptions, accompanied by invocations and conditional curses: last words of the dying saint to his servants. Sometimes accompanied by homilies, it constitutes, for multisecular lapses, the charter regulating the relations of a group with the local representative of the sacred.

Several saints possess an estate, rras l-mâl, maintained from year to year by the sale of pieces of meat. This sale is done at auctions. It releases the emulation, itself ostentation, which this kind of concourse calls up. But the money owed is almost never demandable until the following year. An embryo of credit thus forces its way through. It includes inscription on written rolls and the montagnard notariate is actively occupied with it. Elsewhere we have described the demarcations between the profane

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 391]

1: Berque--390 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

/From p. 278 of the original source./

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794
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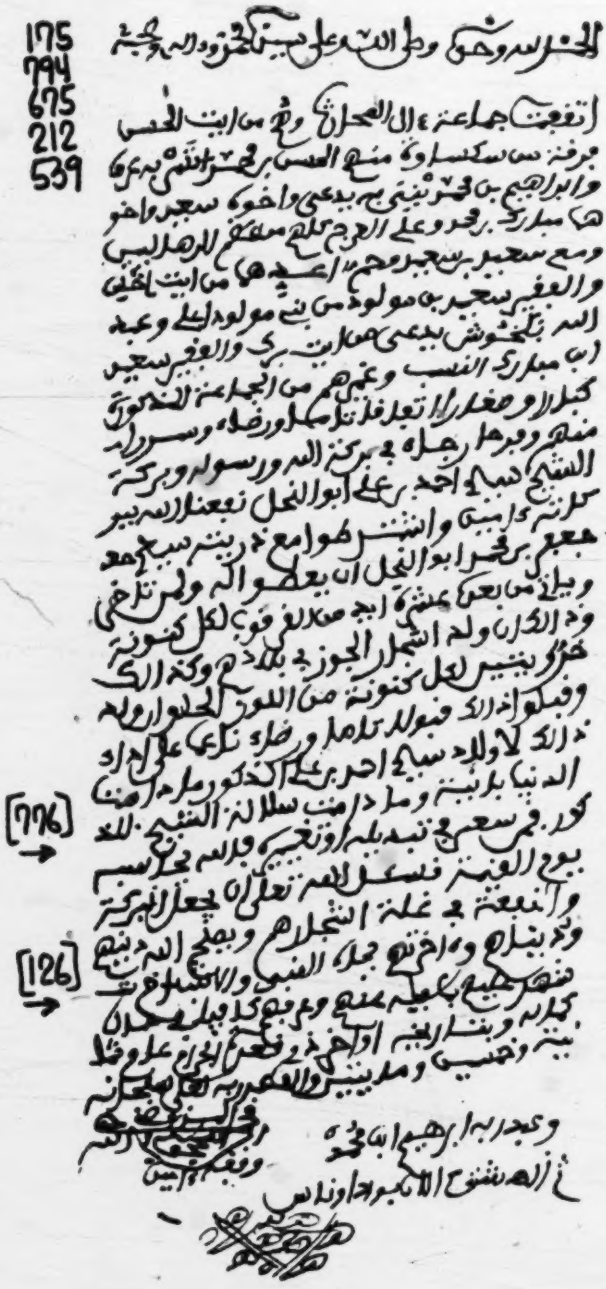

Fig. 10

Act by which the jemâa of the Iwulla took it upon themselves to pay a tithe to Sidi Ah'mad u ᶜAli, 1258 Heg. = 1840. In exchange, the saint would assure the material and spiritual prosperity of the group (in fine). Collected at the zâwiya of the Mez'ud'a.

/279 cont./

794 and the sacred that such a system reveals. The conjugation of the old propitiatory or purificatory practices, the archaic climate of squandering and feasting are united here in exact accountable preoccupations. Veritable grocery store of the sacred.

Critique of These First Data

794 Thus one characteristic of this stage of religious and juridical
796 institutions among the Seksawa becomes clear. The patronage of
182 the saints puts into play a solidarity among the group life, the rhythms of nature, and the ritual calendar. The passage from one to the other of these three ideas is constant. Even passage from the statute governing the relations of the group with its protector to the deliberate initiative of conventions with other saints. The
794 auctions for the sale of sacrificial meat, the emulation which re-
182 sults, the term obligation to which the purchaser agrees partake of the most communitarian rite and of the most individual contract all at once. In these forms of synthesis, in these moments of village exuberance, linked to the life of the seasons and to the manifestations of the sacred, are freed the forces which go at the same time to maintain and to validate the juridical obligation.
181 But the latter, at this very stage of religious, agrarian, and communal correspondences, already presents itself clothed in specific characteristics which are its own in the culture of the Chleuhs /Shluh/: acquisitive sharpness, contractual individualism, communal publicity. And these characteristics have already reacted on what one can presume to be an /280/ "old" foundation. As we have noted, this foundation no longer appears except in unequal and incoherent fashion, by fragments and survivals. Syntheses exert themselves on the local plane. They are constructive and distorting. In them resides the originality of the milieu, while the more archaic facts that one distinguishes on the traverse are rather amenable to a North African generality.

182 At this stage imperious necessities of equilibrium and of local ordering, a systematization smitten with dosage and

/280 cont./

182 distribution, solidarities extending to the whole Chleuh /Shluh/ ensemble are at work. But also Islamic devotion, which, in certain aspects, is critique and reason. We must therefore make great allowance for evolutions which not only efface or revive such-and-such an event, but modify its relations with the rest. Whence the necessity to bear in mind at every moment the proportion and the level of phenomena. The intimacy of the juridical institution, for example, will be grasped only when the distinction is made between what in it is dependent on "prelaw" in relation to the judiciary system on one hand, on the law in relation to usage and folklore on the other. Same distinctions to be established in the study of the religious life.

The prudence that is imposed on our course by a terrain so rich in denivellations prohibits for the moment making conclusions on a fundamental problem: that of the relations of the agnatic group with the ritual life. As they are presently observed, they belong to a layer of folklore to which one cannot legitimately attribute structural value. It would be too easy to speak of degradations or recent evolutions. And the existence of a law of patrimonial balance among the different ikhs-s could not for the moment be attributed, without petitio principii, to a claimed stage of origin. Thus let us leave the question hanging. Let us note in any case that the persistence of the ikhs should have favored the birth of a hagiology of ancestors. But there is nothing of it. Figures of this sort are paradoxically rare in a country with lineage legitimacy. No heroes, no gilded legend. But the individual on one hand, communal synthesis on the other, and, above all, a personage who has centralized the largest part of the supernatural of the Seksawa. Let us look at this personage more closely.

[613] [613] [769] [776]

1: Berque--393 Z-5 (ca.1950) 1955 MW11 Shluh MW11

Developments of the Religious Life

I. Great Ritual Personifications

"A National Saint,"

Lalla Aziza

776 [533] [383] When masons from the Haouz, from the Drâ, or from the Dadès, perched on the rough framing, beat the pisé of a wall under construction, the chant that punctuates their efforts starts with the invocation of Lalla Aziza Tagurramt. But this extension of the name into the popular litanies of the South cannot efface the profound reasons that make the tomb of the saint, her legend, and her rite the vital center of the Seksawa. And the error of [114] E. Doutté, or more probably of his guide, when they thought they saw the sanctuary as early as the first counterforts of the valley, was instructive. But could they have done otherwise? All this part of the Deren is dominated by the figure of the heroine: why be astonished that the countryside is imbued with it? For the eyes of the heart, Lalla Aziza is certainly visible from afar in the plain.

[121] Let it therefore be on this impression that our analysis opens. Guided by a course that is the very one of the promenade, but also of discovery, we shall try, clue by clue, to descend to the most profound of an ensemble of images, emotions, rites, beliefs, and history.

Archeological Landmarks

133 Intermediate course between the low valley and the great mountain, strewing on its broad esplanade the softened relief of a horticulture that still has space at its disposal, while a little farther upstream life will be reduced to acrobatic clingings to rock, the plain of the a. Musa plays the role of a parvis. That 778 is why it is to be defended by spiritual guardians, and why the defense is to be turned downstream. Upstream, on the contrary, a ground heavily charged with interdictions, lh'rum i-yseksawan,

/281 cont./
778 begins, the center of which /282/ is Z'init' (1).

[104]

1. I spell correctly with two emphatic accents, even if the emphasis of the t is sufficiently softened to justify apropos the name the etymological pun that one will see. As for the sibilant sound, its emphasis is attested to by the Arabic transcription into d'. This name of Z'init' is strange, like many of these Berbère /Berber/ names, anthroponyms of groups above all, whose unintelligibility and irregularity are striking in contrast to the relative clarity of many names of places or quarters. There are two very different "layers" there.

776 These watchers for peril from the plain are santons, of rough vis-
778 age, but whose frequency clearly marks a denivellation of the sacred. Such as sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this saint of the "asylum" (2).

[195]

2. The translation as "asylum" is certainly derivative. The basic idea is that of the interdiction, which is expressed here by an Arabic root h' r m, rather anciently in order for it to have been able to be "personalized" in a punned name of a saint: this sidi Mh'and Ah'ormi, this ah'ormi being perceived as a nasab.

sidi Sâid u Moh'ammed, sidi Lghezwani, sidi Ghânem, sidi Ah'med u Mh'and, and a small sanctuary with a strange name, Iz'mawn Iuserran, "the lions of Iuserran," revealer perhaps of some ancient magic defense (3).

[825]
[171]

3. The leonine species is often adopted by the Maghrebi saints; W. Marçais, Textes

/282 cont./

/footnote 3 continued/ arabes de Takrouna /Arabic texts of Takrouna/, 1925, p. 209, n. 6, gives a bibliography.

Does that mean that more ancient elements, announcers of a ritual place, were effaced before Lalla Aziza? The fact remains that a similar defense is lacking toward the upstream part. Evidently, the saint is at home in the back country. There one finds only her maqâm-s or "mansions," which arouse a completely different order of ideas. First, toward the S.-E., in the former domain of the a. Gasa, an oak at the Tizi Az'allo, between Tagonit and Assttif; then a carob tree, igg, at the place called Tiktit, "the frontier," in the valley of the asif n-Tghrin; a walnut tree in the ravine of Tannçmt; and another piece of masonry at Rekto. All that on this side of the crest of the Afuzar. Beyond, at Imi y-ighzer n-Âissa, in the present habitat of the a. Gasa, and at Anzelfi among the a. Gâir, still other mansions. What is striking is that all these hagiological points, if one posts them on a map, go beyond the present perimeter of the Seksawa.

In the valley itself, one notes, as is frequent, between the agglomeration of Z'init' and Tamezgurt, a raised stone, called "limit of Lalla Aziza." It used to mark the border of the asylum in the upstream direction, in a period when it was not reduced to the constructed site. According to current folklore, the people see in it the petrification of a fiancée and her mount, just as they see, in another rock, the metamorphosis of a wicked chief, amghar yubaddaln rbbi.

More significant are the archeological elements revealable toward the S.-W., that is, in Idma country. One knows that the Idma, more recent immigrants, are the conquerors of the a. Gasa, and that it is thanks to the saint that they defeated them one against two. They /283/ took from them, among others, the village of Anchkrir. There, an ancient endowment assigns about forty parcels to Lalla Aziza, the revenue from which she collects every year in March. Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of

361 /283 cont./Anchkrir is dominated by a high table of 2,000 m., at mid-slope of the Tabgurt, and called "the conjoint areas," Inraren Z'dinin. It is a place of periodic assemblies for the election of chiefs, or meetings preliminary to military expeditions. Forum and bivouac. One notes there a small hypaethral sanctuary, simple circle of stones, dedicated to a Lalla Azzo, given as the daughter of Sidi Amer u H'addo, of the issue of the [796] Seksawa kings. At the entrance to the village itself Sidi Sliman u Amer is buried, to whom is dedicated in the summer a small celebration, in decline elsewhere. The latter is also a historic personage, like H'addo u Amer, king of the fourteenth century. One cannot fail to be struck by the homonymy between this Lalla Azzo, of the old royal cycle, and Lalla Aziza, with whom she is [797] identified by some. The name of Aziza, moreover anormal in Chleuh /Shluh/, is still unusual today. The popular language, notably in the choruses, changes it to Azzt. If it should be identified with the names of Azzô or Azzûna, it would perhaps be a matter of the same personage at Z'init' and at Inraren Z'dinin. Then, the existence of an appanage of the saint at Anchkrir, the only village where she has one, would pose the problem of the bond between her cycle and that of the medieval kings. Undoubtedly that is the key to the history of the Seksawa. But how to explain the present site of the sanctuary? Might it result from a displacement of the more modest sepulcher of the higher place? Or would there have been two tombs? We shall probably never know.

The name of Z'init' is curious. It is explained locally by an imperative, with an archaic ending in -it, from the verb z'z'in, "to quarrel, to dispute." The rite confers a certain likelihood to this interpretation. Or else z'z'in-i-t would be a third person of the plural, followed by a preposition and a pronoun. That is, in sum: "are you quarreling" or "one is quarreling for him." All of that, naturally, is pun. There are two "quarrels" in the liturgy [793] of the saint: a legendary pursuit around her body, according to a current hagiological theme; and the blows lavished at the sacrifice of the Mîlâd.

/283 cont./

776 778 Be that as it may about the name, the site is broken up as follows. 1) In the upstream direction, a small edifice dedicated to a sidi bu Lqnadel (1):

[192]

1. "With the candle ends." Ibn Toumert is also surnamed açafu, which is the chl. /Shluh/ doublet of the ar. /Arabic/ qandil. Ibn Khaldûn, Histoire des Berbères, tr., t. II, 1927, p. 163.

[764] open chamber, and tomb without a superstructure. It is dominated by a cemetery, not far from the az'allo, "place of collective prayer in /284/ open air." 2) A little higher, descending into the river, a rocky ravine, called Imi n-Zennû (old Berbère /Berber/ name, to be put in connection with the Jannûn, Azzûn, etc.). 3) On the arête that rises on the side of the Mzawt, two [823] raised stones punish the sinner, whom they seize if he dares pass between them (1).

1. Old folkloric theme of "planctes" /plangent/ stones.

776 778 346 764 This is the ifri n-tsqqi. 4) "The house" of Lalla Aziza. It contains, in the vestibule, the sepulcher of a mule, and storerooms where the provisions for feast days are amassed. Four large pots, luted above a summary oven, wait in another room. It is there that the pieces of the victim will be cooked. A covered passage leads to the "door of the plain" of the zaouia. 5) The zaouia in fact presents a bab lud'a, "door of the plain," and a bab udrar, "door of the mountain." It is certainly the antithesis between upstream and downstream that dominates all of this life. Further, this configuration reflects a ritual classification employed on the day of the Mîlâd. To the left, a room where a tomb is seen: that of sidi Yah'ya^u Lqaid, given as the exterminator of the a. Gasa. In the cupola, the tomb of the saint, with three others, which would be those of her father, her mother, a slave.

/284 cont./

346 794 I pass the constructions that are inhabited by the present foqra, administrators, rather than holders of the benefic power, above all devolutionaries of the "benefice" tisura. Made of stone arranged in a straight line, on two and sometimes three stories, in joined assemblages, according to the powerful techniques of the mountain, they present nothing remarkable, except 794 for their paradoxically urban aspect. However, as this small 173 group materializes and exploits the tradition of the sanctuary, it will not be useless to investigate the oral chronicle concerning it.

It is composed of three families: the a. H'ammo, the a. Ali, and the a. Lh'sen, besides the habitual fringe of allogenes [784] and refugees. The reduction of the effective force of the latter two families in relation to the first is attributed to a curse that the saint cast upon them as penalty for an ambush in which they traitorously massacred the a. Musa. They had invited them to a tiwilt, "banquet-palaver." Having led them into a room upstairs, below which they had piled stalks of maize, they smoked them out. The unfortunate ones who jumped out the window were slain. Only one escaped. Even he was killed farther away. [211] Thirty-three slabs, each representing one of these human lives, have been, it seems, imbedded since then in the ceiling of the maqqura of a mosque at T'abya. Magic and official cult are joined here with cantonal patriotism.

[784] /285/ What the saint is punishing in the case at hand is not only the treachery of the two families, but the crime, whose victims were pure descendants of the royal line. A coincidence 776 to think about. Quite naturally this leads one to investigate as to [778] whether there are not other characteristics that can be revealed by an examination of the places and which would put one on the same track. First of all, this sidi bu Lqnadel, "the saint with the [619] candle ends," corresponding in Berbère /Berber/ to a bab n-tfawin, [634] which would also signify "the man with the proofs," would be none other than H'addo, the eponym of the a. H'adduyws of the highest valley, founder of the medieval dynasty. One bestows on [796] him each year no more than a little merrymaking: barely a few [443] cooked chickens, which the children eat. But three generations [692]

/285 cont./

776 [443] [692] ago it was he who presided over the Thursday market, and it was in his edifice that the moqaddem of Lalla Aziza remained to settle the litigations. If one compares this H'addo the Yah'ya buried in the "house of Lalla Aziza" with the Sliman buried at Anchkrir not far from an Azzô, the identification with at least three of the personages mentioned by Ibn Khaldûn will be confirmed. A certain liaison of the historic cycle and the ritual cycle is thus suggested by the only archeological indications. How this liaison could have been established, and, in that case, what distortions the rite has printed on history, this is what has been examined elsewhere. But let us salute again here the synthesis and its profound relations with the functioning of a group life.

The Fisc of the Holiness

000 The same impression will emerge from an institutional analysis of the system whose topographic situation we have just studied.

What is striking at first is the relative importance of the perimeter of appeal. Here again, let us start with the most concrete elements, that is, the geography.

794 776 423 [796] Expressed as obligation for offerings at the time of the two annual feasts, or "stipulated subscription" village by village all during the year, the attraction of Lalla Aziza is also expressed in agrarian attachments. Let us pass by her appanage of Anchkrir, identifiable with an old center of Seksawa history. Much farther downstream, in the lower valley, at Ih'ançalen, two "parcels" called, with a play on words, id'aren n-Lalla Aziza, "the feet of L. A.," frame the river on both sides: a sort of portico which the current passes and which perhaps indicates an old rite of passage. We are still, it is true, in Seksawa, among these a. Abdella whose name refers to the not very orthodox agellid of the fourteenth century. But in the plain itself, at Gemassa of the Fruga, the saint has available two /286/ shares of water on the Lalla Çfiyya wadi. According to the oral traditions, in ancient times the people of Gemassa and the a. Abdella contended for the water of the river by force. The conflict ceased only with the

173 776

/286 cont./

arbitration of the saint. Thus she obtained two shares of irrigation, each conceded by one of the parties. Let us note that today the a. Abdella are separated from Gemassa by several foreign tribes and about twenty kilometers as the crow flies.

Likewise in the plain, in Dwiran, at the place called Jemâa Tagharro, the saint initially enjoyed a field, Zagho, of which, moreover, today there remains to her only a right for water. Here again, this benefice is related to a political manifestation: the Sultan was ascending in an expedition in order to lay siege to the Seksawa. Their protectress marched to her encounter as far as the place called Tazuggwart n-Lalla Aziza and succeeded in turning him away from his schemes for the siege. The chronicles bring to mind several attempts of this nature, and we even have contemporary evidence of one of these intercessions. Here one is moving on solid ground, and there again local signs confirm legend and history.

In another direction, toward the E., a chronicle points out to us, about 1708, the marabout of Tasaft, hero of a montagnard resistance against the makhzan power, coming on a pilgrimage to Z'init' (1).

1. Justinard, La Rihla du marabout de Tasaft /The Rihla of the marabout of Tasaft/, 1940, p. 124. On Z'init', pp. 110 sq. The author does not speak of Lalla Aziza, but of the "marabouts of the Seksawa."

He comes from afar and must cross high passes. On the way, he sees on a slab of polished stone imprints of horseshoes: legendary traces of the Almohades. The uneasy nostalgia of the storyteller for this brilliant and wretched period of greatness doubtlessly stirs him deeply when he comes to Z'init'. In this asylum, a banished caid had been able for a long time to flee from the men of the central power, who watched him from ambush in a. Musa. This sort of continuity that one feels established by the narrator in time and space between Ibn Toumert and Lalla Aziza is significant.

/286 cont./

173 Nothing more than an association of ideas, but haunting. It sus-
776 tains this prose of images which break its aridity. Doubtlessly, priding himself on his erudition, the author confuses everything a little. He mixes the legendary or folkloric traits having reference to Ibn Toumert with those that have reference to another "Imâm el-Mehdi," the one from Massa, who is supposed to appear at the end of the times. Imprint left by a great epoch, popular millenarianism of the far Sous, more modest but intense hagiology of the local saint are perhaps confounded in a common horror for the central administration, but this syncretism is not /287/ without interest. Practically, until the Protectorate, the religious force of Z'init' blocked downstream all the offensives of the plain. And still farther toward the N., a whole hagiological moraine denounces a former expansion proceeding from these high places of the Atlas.

In the epochs of order, such efficiency must have compromised with the power. Here are three dahirs (1760, 1812, 1863) which granted (or rather consecrated) privileges to the "descendants of Lalla Aziza," a flattering qualification of those who are only the "poor" or "ministers," or only the "beadles." They ac-
[794] cord them a share of water on the al-Qîhra wadi at Taghzut. "That
[423] no one, Arab, Berbère /Berber/, or other, either approach them or circumscribe their space (1),

> 1. Note this term of sâh'a, "clearance, vital space." That is what the chronicle uses to designate the perimeter of plain cut off from the Seksawa by the Mérinides in the fourteenth century.

yat'ûfa bisâh'ati-him ..., in whatever may come to them." The granting of the right of asylum, and of a plenary fiscal exemption: "whoever may seek there protection or shelter will be inviolable in his person and his goods."

778 Indeed, the influence of the holy place does not diminish at
776 all. According to a prediction of sidi Moh'ammed b. Abdallah of
794 Assttif, a marabout himself and a visionary, the powers of Lalla

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/287 cont./ Aziza will still go on increasing. The chief of the zaouia of Bu^{c}anfir in Ud Bessebâ^{c} used to come on a pilgrimage to Z'init' so that the flood waters would reach his lands. Sidi Mh'and, of the great médersa /Moslem advanced school/ of the Mez'ud'a, did not disdain to make his devotions there. At the Mîlâd, in [685] 1949, a mule theft was committed during the ceremony in a sacrilegious plot to get rid of an enemy. Several days later, the crime caused a terrified repentance on the part of the guilty man, who spontaneously had the beast brought back. At the time of the theft, moreover, the people of Z'init' had asserted that Lalla Aziza herself would not fail to use her "lights," tifawin. The event confirmed their pious trust. That so many powers coincide [554] with the mediocrity and intrigue of the ministers, among whom [771] the moqaddem was only a politician at the service of the Mtugga ambitions during the last generation, is a characteristic that merits attention and upon which it is proper to reflect when one tries to evaluate the part of the sacred and of its men in the Chleuh /Shluh/ society. And the problem will stop being knotted when one knows that, rejecting anything exclusive, these native ministers do not rest content with their saint, and make offerings themselves, upon the harvest of the maize, to two maraboutic families, the a. Sograti of the Haut Dwiran and the a. Bennâçer of Tawlukult!

/288/ However that may be, Lalla Aziza exerts over the whole Seksawa system, and accessorily in the Haut Dwiran (a. Wageryan) as well as on the side of the Gedmiwa (through the a. Gasa), a veritable fiscal attraction, expressed by the regular collection of cens: agricultural first fruits and sacrificial meats. As dry as an enumeration of it might be, it will nevertheless contribute to interesting geographical localizations. And, moreover, the very dryness of this roll, for it is one, since it fixes stipulated and almost transactional obligations (chchard'), will give a verity of atmosphere.

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Attempt at evaluation of the regular annual revenues of Lalla Aziza (in Seksawa)

Name of taqbilt	Name of donor group or groups	Barley (in measures)	Maize (in measures)	Butter (in kg.)	Walnuts (in thousands)	Sheep or goats	Bovines
a. Musa.	Igernssuq	29					
	T'abya	62				1	1
	Tabratjut	82					
a. Lh'sen.	Ensemble					1	
a. Skrat.	Dyur Sekrat ...	44	44	22			1
	Tikid'ut	23	23	11,5			
Iguntar.					0,650		
Idma.	Tasselli	7					1
	Talmud'ât	3					
	Tannsmekht ...	—					
	Wanchkrir	80					
Imt'ddan.	Tinwalin	27	27		(6 measures of	27	
	Tamezgurt	16	16		almonds	16	2
	Tagunit	45	45		in case	45	
	Tamt'ddit	16	16		of good harvests)	16	
a. H'adduyws	a. Wasif	20		10			fac.
	Fensu	10					
	Tasa	9					
	a. Bah'ammo ..	3,5		14.5			
	Igersafen	3,5					
I. Geryun.	Tinerghat	4			3,2		fac.
	Imi Wasif	3			2,4		
	Asif Lah'lo	3,5			3		
	Rekt Wasif	2,5			2		
	Ighelmellen ...	4,5			3,7		
	Ikis	8			6,8		
a. Âbdella.							1

N.B. To which are added regular dues from the a. Gasa, the Idaw i-yzimmer (Idaw Mh'mud), the a. Wageryan (Dwiran), and the Haut Gedmiwa.

Totals ...		505.5	71	58	21.75	106	from 6 to 8
	Equivalence ...	67.4 qx	28,5 qx				

/qx = quintals/

/291 cont./

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776 "The Sultan wanted to make the acquaintance of Lalla Aziza and had her summoned to Marrakech. She went there and continued to be noticed in the city for her piety and for the good that she did around her. She was very honored, but her influence became so great that the Sultan took offense, and Lalla Aziza was thrown into prison. Several times an attempt was made to poison her, but each time that the poisoned dish was presented to her, she refused to eat any of it.

"One day, however, it was her most faithful servant who offered her the poison. Then she said: 'For God I shall eat some of it and for God I shall die.'

"But before doing so, she demanded that, once dead, her body would be tied on a mule and that it would be buried where the mule stopped.

"She ate some of the poisoned dish and died. As she had wished, her body was placed on a mule, which left immediately but could not be followed. The same day, it arrived at the Seksawa, where the body was recognized and buried with great ceremony.

"The inhabitants of Marrakech then erected a beautiful cupola in honor of the saint and obtained permission from the Sultan that the body would be placed there. The transfer took place, but it could be confirmed, several days later, that the body reposed simultaneously in the capital and at the Seksawa. It was then that the Sultan decided that a Kouba /kubba/ identical to that of Marrakech would be built in the mountains."

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114 Brives subsequently devotes only a few lines to the ceremony. Let us thus leave his account in order to gather together a certain number of facts that do not seem to have struck him and whose importance for the meaning of the rite and for its import is considerable.

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773 from a rich display of clamors and colors. The rite is about to be carried out. Here is the account which the foreigner can hear and which Brives puts at the beginning of the century.

773 /The rest of this section, up the last paragraph, is in small
● 776 type in the original source./ "Lalla Aziza was born right here, and from an early age she went to watch the goats in the mountains. Instead of staying with the other shepherds and having her flock graze along the river, where the grass is rich and plentiful, Lalla Aziza went to the heights of the mountain, where there are only rocks. Her goats were nevertheless as fat as those of the other shepherds. By that, God was already showing that he had noticed this child. Nevertheless, jealousy helping, the father of Lalla Aziza paid no attention to the flourishing state of her flock. He demanded that his child traverse the lower parts of the valley and, as she continued to lead her goats among the dry rocks, he repeatedly beat her unmercifully.

"One day while Lalla Aziza was watching her flock at the very summit of the mountain, where no grass ever grew, the father, accompanied by some people from the village, went to join her and reproached her for not following his instructions. Father, replied the child, see for yourself what your flock is eating. And then the father confirmed that his goats had their mouths full of wheat.

"From this moment, the child was regarded as a messenger /291/ from God and everyone admired her. When she became a young woman, she was noted for her piety. She loved solitude, appeared to be always at prayer, and yet her work was always done.

"Since she was among the most beautiful young women of the village, she was sought out for marriage, but refused all suitors.

"One day when she was alone beside the path overlooking the river, she was pursued by a young man whom she had refused. She could not flee because the path had no outlet, and she was about to be seized, when suddenly she disappeared into the mountain, before the astonished eyes of the young man. The young woman's reputation for holiness increased and spread far.

/295 cont./

796 782 182 notation on the enormous problem of the division between the profane and the sacred on one hand, and, on the other, between the different sources of sacred, which takes place in this milieu with the accountant and classificator genius.

The dispute of the Mîlâd is related, as has been seen, to the very name of the place, pronounced with a doubling of the initial, z'z'init, and interpreted as an invitation of the saint to quarrel over her body. Is this not an etymological pun, or is the rite itself only a liturgical exposition of the name? The first interpretation seems preferable. If one relates a legendary trait, that of the rivalry over the body of the saint (1),

[171]

1. That is a classical trait, cf. W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 217, n. 21. Sometimes, correlatively, the corpse of the saint itself manifests its choice for an emplacement: C. Trumelet, Algérie légendaire /Legendary Algeria/, 1892, pp. 65, 166, 243, 452; Les saints de l'Islam /The saints of Islam/, 1881, p. 31.

to a ritual trait, the dispute over the body of the victim, the possibility of assimilation, quite classical, between one body and the other comes to mind. That would carry the explanation into a very old atmosphere. It would naturally be imprudent to conclude on such a hypothesis. At the very most it would have the merit of achieving the displaying of the virtualities of the rite and its full religious resonance, of a richness unusual in the Maghreb.

The History

• 776 175 In contrast to the preceding, let us now go on to the historical cross-checkings. What can we know of the real personality of Lalla Aziza? and, first of all, did this personage authentically 776 551 171 exist? Her name is not common, as has been seen. What would be more so would be Azzô or Azzûna. The Moroccan Middle

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776 561 171 Ages offer several examples of the latter name (2),

2. Istiqçâ, A. M. tr., XXXII, 1927, p. 239. Here is an ᶜAzzûna: Istiqçâ', A. M., XXXIII, p. 152. The epidemic of 1442 is called at Fès /Fez/ "the plague of ᶜAzzûna" (ibid., p. 476). Bû ᶜAzzûn is the name of a river near which /this footnote is continued on the following page in the original source/ Turks and Chérifiens /Sherifians/ meet (Sources in., Esp., I, 1921, p. 206). Points on the Riffian littoral bear this name (Sources in., Fr., 2nd series, t. I, p. 123, n. 7, p. 127, n. 1). At Marrakech /Marrakesh/ there are a Lalla ᶜAzzûna and a funduq of the same name.

notably /296/ the "famous Taᶜazzûnt," sister of an Almohade caliph. There is a Lalla ᶜAzzûna at Marrakech. In contrast, the hagiological type is current. Moroccan tradition knows a number of saints, playing their role in the conflicts of the time. For example, an own daughter of Almohade Mahdî, or later, in the Sous at Issgdad, this H'awâ'b. ᶜAbd Allah, expert in uçûl (1).

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1. Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî, t. I, p. 4. This "Eve" belongs to the cycle of Sidi Ah'med u Musa.

776 538 171 As for the shepherd or shepherdess, her character stamped with the ambiguity of the sacred -- lucky or unlucky, object of horror or of veneration -- is a universal theme, and notably Maghrebi and Mussulman. The flock which grazes without the shepherd's worrying about them is a common thing in the gilded legend: such as

/296 cont./

776 sidi Bubker of the Ahl Srif and many others (2).

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2. Ibid., t. I, p. 155, l. 7 sq. On the magico-religious bibliography of the shepherd in the Maghreb, W. Marçais, Textes arabes de Takrouna, 1925, p. 257, n. 37.

Finally, the legend recorded by Brives suggests almost a rivalry between the high places, where the virgin is made champion, and the more moderate slopes of the pastoral life. The configuration of the site makes one think that there is some authenticity there: in the matter of high places, one immediately thinks here of the Tamjlocht, which dominates the scene, and remains today the
776 theater of an annual rite. The religious context of the region and of the epoch is supplied sufficiently to explain the figure of Lalla Aziza. One evokes, for example, all the Maçmûda saints that the Tachawwuf enumerates (3).

3. Ms. obligingly put at my disposal by G.-S. Colin.

Or also all these Regraga proselytes (4),

4. In the Moroccan S., the Regraga form "the solder," if I may venture to say it, between two prophetic cycles: that of Jesus and that of Mahomet. Disciples of the first, H'awwariyûn, they are almost the "baptists" of the second, whom they announce and whom they go to seek from the time of the beginnings of his mission. Their personality fluctuates between a confreric qualification and an ethnic qualification. Cf. concerning them R. Montagne, who has the merit of linking them to the Coutumes et légendes de la côte berbère

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/296 cont./

/footnote 4 continued/ du Maroc /Customs and legends of the Berber part of Morocco/, Hesp., 1924, pp. 101 sq., 110 sq.; Michaux-Bellaire, Conférences, A. M., 1927, p. 16; De Segonzac, Au coeur de l'Atlas /In the heart of the Atlas/, 1910, pp. 414 sq.; Justinard, "Notes sur l'histoire du Sous au XVI^{e} siècle /Notes on the history of the Sous in the sixteenth century/," A. M., 1933, pp. 202 sq. For our region, let us cite the important unpublished study by Oqbani on "Les sanctuaires de l'annexe d'Argana /The sanctuaries of the annex of Argana/" (Arch. I., see especially p. 11, translation of a genealogical document). The Regraga of the high a. Abdella, in Seksawa, also display a genealogical document dated 1687, and a dahir of tawqîr of the sultan al-Mançûr (1643), where the area of the zaouia is also called sâh'a, as in the text of Ibn Khaldûn.

one of whom was formerly pointed out among the a. Gasa. Or also these men of God, makers of rain and marvels, such as this sidi Ibrâhîm as-Samlâli who resisted the great purges of Ibn Toumert. On that, unfortunately, the imprecision of the sources makes us confuse the epochs.

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/297/ We would be reduced to these hypotheses, if the windfall of a text did not permit a much more radical conclusion. It is a passage by the cadi Ibn Qunfûdh the Constantine (1),

1. Abû'l-^{c}Abbâs Ah'mad al-Khat'îb b. Qunfûdh (1340-1408) left Constantina in 1358. In 1362 he visited the house of Ibn Toumert: it is from this time that one can date his passage into the Dir, although he stayed in Morocco a certain number of

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/footnote 1 continued/ years. Cf. M. Ben Cheneb, "La Fârisiyya ou les débuts de la dynastie hafçide /The Fârisiyya or the beginnings of the Hafsid dynasty/," Hesp., VIII, pp. 37 sq.

who stayed in Morocco toward the middle of the fourteenth century. He was the student of the famous Andalusian vizier Lisân ad-Dîn ibn al-Khat'îb, himself a poet inspired by the Maçmûdian mountains. He visited the region toward 763 Heg., that is, 1362, and as sightseer called at the house of Ibn Toumert. In his book Uns al-faqîr wa ᶜizz al-h'aqîr (2),

2. Rabat manuscript, fol. 41a, l. 2 sq. The spelling of the name of the Seksawa has been touched up and is thus given: skswia.

he collected valuable notes on the chain of the Deren, which struck his imagination, and the religious atmosphere of the place and of the time. He extricated from it the impression of a spiritual life nourished by contrasts and drawing a lively fervor out of the fierceness of these populations. Now, our Constantine savant met Lalla Aziza.

/The following three paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ "I have seen in Morocco, on the border of the Seksawa in the Deren, at a place called al-Qâhira, 'la dame princesse' /the lady princess/ (3),

3. I translate thus on the testimony of G.-S. Colin, Sources in. Port., III, p. 157, n. 1, apropos another sayyidatu'l-h'urra. But it is to be noted that this term is constant in the documents of the Moroccan S.

the saint ᶜAzîza the Saksiwîya.

/297 cont./

175 776 "I acquired her baraka and conversed with her. She was occupied with reconciling two important groups. She had followers, men and women. Each of these two troops devoted itself to its ascesis and devotion in a separate place. They pitched a tent for Lalla ᶜAzîza on the side of the women. No one stirred without her order. If she held a public seance, she put her veil back on her without leaving an opening where someone might see her. She was very eloquent, in her responses, her orders, and her homilies. Nothing sweeter than her words when she was asking about the state of the people. She performed famous miracles.

175 776 648 "The famous general, governor of Marrakech, ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad al-Hintâtî, came up to her and had a long conversation with her. When he returned, he said to me, 'O faqîh, what a surprise! She anticipated in her responses what I had in mind, and I could not refuse her what she asked of me. I have never seen anything stronger than the arguments that she expounded to me.' And nevertheless ᶜÂmir b. Muh'ammad was one of those subtle men who do not consider any argument, and he commanded a column of an effective force exceeding 6,000 and richly paid. He proposed blocking the Saksîwa in their mountains in order to reduce them to homage. But she enjoined him to turn away from this, standing security herself /298/ that they would submit. He thus turned away from it and, even before having arrived, he received a writing according to which they were submitting and assuring him of their good will (1)."

175 776 792 (114)

1. Ibn Qunfûdh connects Lalla Aziza, like many other personages of whom he speaks, with the great Abû Madhyân of Tlemcen. That is an unlikelihood, but instructive, for it shows at the time of this epoch the play of confreric attachments. Abû Madhyân was born near the end of the twelfth century (cf. the abbé Bargès, Vie du célèbre marabout sidi Abou-Médien /Life of the famous marabout sidi Abou-Médien/, 1884) and died in

/298 cont./

175 796 792

/footnote 1 continued/ 1197. He went to study at Fès /Fez/ under the direction of ad-Daqqâq, who taught there at the time of the great Moroccan mystics H'irzihim (d. 1165), Abû'l-Ghâlib (d. 1166), at-Tâûdî, Abû Ya^{c}za (d. 1177). On this period, A. Bel, sidi Bou Medyan and his master ad-Daqqâq at Fès, Mélanges R. Basset, t. I, pp. 31 sq., and bibliography, ibid., p. 32, n. 1. It is to be noted that H'irzihim and Abû Madhyân were partisans of the Ih'yâ' of Ghazzâli, like Ibn Toumert himself. The preceding generation of Moroccan mystics knew Ibn al-^{c}Arif, d. at Marrakech in 1141 (Bel, op. laud., p. 59, n. 1).

175 796 What historical precision! ^{c}Amir al-Hintâtî is a well-known personage, a friend of Ibn al-Khat'îb, and who will die dramatically. ^{c}Abd Allah, more commonly called "the Saksîwî," is equally historic. Lalla Aziza emerges from this text with very lifelike traits. Let us list them. A role of "resister" in the Maçmûdian siba against the Mérinides. The quite Mussulman modesty of her deportment, a trait of proselytism that doubtlessly should be related to the definitive Arabization of her name, or perhaps only to the viewpoint of the witness. A vocation as conciliator between groups or fractions, a role that she shares with a great number of legendary personages of the South. What one can glimpse of a division of the population into groups, each organizing the two sexes separately on the occasion of rites or fixed social functions. Finally, synthesizing the whole, a national figure, protectress of the mountain against the plain.

The windfall of this testimony, which there is no reason to hold suspect, and which, besides, is authorized by a certain number of cross-checks, achieves out of the historic precision a part

/298 cont./
175 of the inductions to which archeology, on the one hand, the
776 critique of the oral tradition and the interpretation of the rite, on the other hand, have led.

Nevertheless there is no cause to draw from it more than it brings us: the atmosphere of the Deren at the time, with these quite Maghrebi contrasts between an archaic foundation and brilliant spiritual flares; the effort of the plain: in this case, a conquering diplomat, a regular, but prudent army, a cultured cadi who has come from afar, a curious thing of heroisms and miracles. And here, barring their way at the threshold of the valley, is a personification of the old race, full of the prestige of the sacred, and embodying her people with a force whose tremor nearly six centuries have not exhausted.

776 /299/ II. Unfortunate Rivals of the Holiness
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The attachment, more or less late, of the cult of Lalla Aziza with the master-place, Z'init', the ritual and sentimental hegemony that she exerts in the entire valley and beyond have suppressed or absorbed other legendary figures. Only three stand out from a background of communal hagiology to assume, like the saint, but with infinitely less individual color and implications in the life of the group, some personal or social traits that elsewhere could have merited them a different fortune. These demi-failures of the spiritual no less arise originally from the pullulating troup of village saints, anonymous beggars of chickens or kids. One of them even has the advantage of seniority over Lalla Aziza. Another is, more than she, of classic type. The third is closer to actuality. And these last two saints, although less intense in imagery, less ambitious in scope, have nonetheless retained in the life of their group, in this case the conquering Idma, a morphological function which, well beyond the anecdote, links them to our remarks.

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The Cycle of the Founder

Sidi ᶜAmer u H'addo, sometimes called Baba ᶜAmer, has his tomb in a. H'adduyws, that is, in the high-mountain taqbilt that refers itself to the eponym H'addô u Yûsef. This is not the place to criticize the orthodox but anachronistic Almoravide attachment of which this H'addô now forms the object. The cupola of his son, ᶜAmer, between the villages of the a. Zemlal and the a. Bâh'ammo, on the trail that goes up the Seksawa in the direction of Fensu, rears a modest piece of masonry, seat of a cult whose importance seems to be more and more reduced. Fossil cult, one might say. An observer noted in 1928 that only the people of Agadir n-Tsuggin, a. Bah'ammo and Uzago participated in it. But he notes also, and this is more important, that here again there is not one, but two feasts: one of avowed naturist vocation, at the time of putting water in the ditches (March), the other coinciding with the Nativity of the Prophet. This parallelism with the cult of /300/ Lalla Aziza must hold one's attention and calls forth the same remarks, even though on a much smaller field.

These rather sparse elements would authorize no commentary if one did not quite opportunely have at one's disposal here old acts whose analysis is going to permit closing up the problem of the relations between the legendary tradition, successoral devolutions, and history.

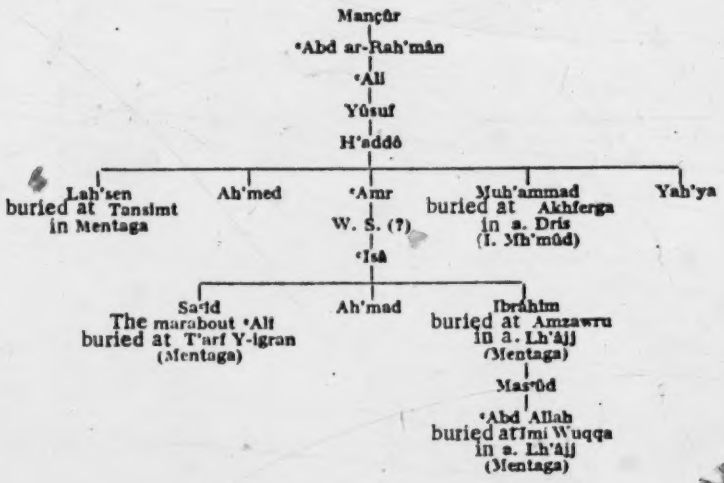
/The rest of the section, up to the last two paragraphs, are in small type in the original source./ 1) A recent copy (late ramad'ân 1341 Heg.) of an act very likely found in the Mentaga tribe at Tansimt. It is the waçiyya, "testamentary donation," that ᶜAmr, in his lifetime and on his behalf, signified to the people of a certain number of villages: a. Bah'ammo, a. Zemlal, a. Fensu, Tasa. It was exhibited to us in the sanctuary one day when I visited it in the company of R. Montagne. It stipulates, for the benefice of the saint and for each year, one fleece per herd, the harvest of three walnut trees, three churns of butter in March, a feast in March (note that the one of the Nativity is

/300 cont./

175 not mentioned), and, by foyer, on the first day of the Fast, the
776 contribution of a dish of porridge duly garnished with fat; "who-
794 ever eats of it, the h'arâm will melt in his body like salt in
428 viands."

There it is, to the life, one of these imposed, and undoubtedly argued, chchard' stipulations, which so often form the point of departure of the saints' benefices. One should note also the archaism of the testimonial procedure (in this case, it is a matter of a sort of testimony by turbs, anterior or foreign to the Adular /fr. adoulaire/ instrumentation and at the same time to the organized laflf). Finally, the simplicity of the details on the purifying banquet does not lack vigor.

175 A genealogy follows, intended undoubtedly to determine the
428 rightful claimants. Here it is.
601
602
776



175 428 602 776 /301/ This ᶜAbd Allah died in an ambush of the Zenaga, whom his curse immediately scatters and exterminates. He left as heir his cousin ᶜAlī b. Saᶜīd, whom this mention undoubtedly identifies with the author of the exception pleadings. Whatever the authenticity of the act may be, it offers the interest of constituting hagiological liaison with the South face of the Atlas and the groups such as Mentaga, I. Mh'mud, today detached from the Seksawa, but whom the Almohade documents align with them in the Genfisa unit, whatever this unit may have been. It will be equally interesting to compare this genealogy with the one that the following documents indicate.

175 127 2) If, taking into account the general remarks that have been made concerning the historicity of this type of document, the waçiyya of ᶜAmr originates in a past hardly placeable, but certainly very ancient, the two acts whose analysis is here now go back only, but more authentically, to our sixteenth century, a period of intense religious fermentation in the Sous, and even in the part of the Atlas that had to submit to the repercussions of the Saâdian thrust, resisting it more than participating in it.

175 602 428 776 Here is first of all a document dated 999 Heg.: 1591. The first part is anecdotal and concerns the Almoravides, to whom, in spite of all the chronological possibilities, Yûsef, the father of ᵉAmr, is attached. This anachronism, probably older than the sixteenth century, has already been pointed out. In this way, the genealogist goes back to Quraych, starting from a Saᶜīd who descended, on the twelfth generation, from ᶜAmr. Let us note that the lapse of three centuries thus indicated would carry back, for the ancestor, to the end of the thirteenth century, which corresponds roughly to Khaldûnian chronology. Let us note also that the attachment to the saint, which is made by an ᶜAbd Allah, does not coincide with the genealogy given above. But this ᶜAbd Allah, who is perhaps the historical personage contemporaneous with Lalla Aziza and Ibn Qunfûdh, has a name that appears often in these genealogies. Not always in the same place: sometimes as son, sometimes as only great-grandson, but not without this repetition offering, in a matter so conjectural, some element of stability. Likewise a T'alh'a is mentioned here as a descendant on

/301 cont./

175 602 428 776 the fourth generation. This name also appears in other documents. And the a. D'alh'a, still represented, are given by oral tradition as the only direct descendants of the ancestor in Haut Seksawa. The coincidence is at least singular.

In extremely obscure terms, the genealogist makes a sort of restatement of the rightful claimants of the benefice. These restatements had to be frequent, since they were reflecting competition between heirs. According to our document: "There are the sons of the Arab woman among the Awlâd Tah'jamt (?); they are the sons of the Berbère /Berber/ woman (ᶜajâmiyya). As for the Awlâd Sidi Yah'yâ b. Fâris, they are the sons of Yah'ya b. H'addô. As for Buzîd, the succession does not count him among the rightful claimants. As for the Awlâd Yûsef b. H'addô b. s. Abî Bakr, ᶜAbd Allah integrated them among his own. As for slavery, he integrated it for a third. As for the sons of Sulaymân b. ᶜAmr, they emigrated." [567]

Such a classification reflects a syncretism effected between different /302/ branches, different stages, or even different origins of the line of ᶜAmer u H'addô. The author of this syncretism might be ᶜAbd Allah, the contemporary of Lalla Aziza. Let us note in passing an interesting distinction between Arab or Berbère /Berber/ mothers, and the mention of slaves or servants among the beneficiaries, according to a process, which, in the present case of Z'init', has resulted in making them the only rightful claimants. Let us finally note the names of Yah'ya and Sulaymân, historical personages who are precisely those whose tombs are still shown today. [567]

3) Here is an act from the seventeenth century. It presents the peculiarity of having a known signatory, sidi l-H'asân b. Muh'ammad, ancestor of the line of the marabouts of Assttif, and whose signature is rather frequently displayed on old Seksawa papers. The act is from 1086 Heg.: 1675. He too makes a restatement of the beneficiaries of his time, at the same time that he justifies this position by their connection to one Mah'ammad, fifth descendant of ᶜAbd Allah b. ᶜAmr. At this time there are six parts coming, not to individuals, but to families designated

/302 cont./

175 602 428 776 by ait. The names of these families are: Abû'l-ᶜArûf, Ulwâh', Mbârek, ᶜAbd as-Salâm, Saᶜîd u H'sayn, Mbârk u Belgâsem. No other remark is to be made concerning the dispersion of the line, thus confirmed from the seventeenth century, and which must have ended in a total effacement, since today only the guardians of the tomb claim the benefice, but as foqra and not as descendants. [613] Nevertheless, it is necessary to note that one of their ikhs bears the interesting name of a. Iz'm, "people of the Lion," and it is known that this surname is attested to historically in the chronicle of the kings of the fourteenth century.

4) Other old Seksawa acts concern the history of the ensemble of the populations of the high valley rather than simply that of the saint. Thus, a ṣṣadaqa of 976 Heg.: 1569, a genealogy of the a. D'alh'a of 1144 Heg.: 1732, and a genealogy of the a. Umgan, an ancient population vanished today, but claiming in this act of 1244 Heg.: 1828 an ancestry of ᶜAmr, again through ᶜAbd Allah, and which offers the curious likelihood that the lapse of twenty generations that is detailed there name by name indeed takes us back, it too, to the fourteenth century.

776 [175] [602] The conclusion to be drawn from these documents is that they postulate, certainly not an attested filiation from the royal personages of the Middle Ages up to our day, but a belief in this filiation. From our point of view, this comes to almost the same thing. Nevertheless, the cult that they authorize is neither that of an ancestor nor that of a hero. Significant thing. In spite of his liaison with the Eponym, it is as a mediocre saint, for whom it seemed necessary to recreate a legend of early epoch, that Sidi ᶜAmer very indifférently survives. This is so true that in the course of the ages periodical reclassifications seem to have intervened, bringing to light a list of rightful claimants more and more full and indistinct, until it finally disappeared as a consequence of its own super- /303/ abundance or the forgetfulness of the faithful. Thus are fixed, at chronologically identifiable stages of the tradition, some names, among which the one of a certain ᶜAbd Allah stands out, and some places where one finds mention of the principal groups of the circum-Tichka ensemble, this true cadre of our story.

/303 cont./

976 To complete this series of traits of authenticity, it will suffice to bring in this saint Baba Amer, the personage likewise given by Ibn Khaldûn as the son of H'addô. He is called ᶜUmar or ᶜAmr and bears the title of king, agellid. He imposes upon his contemporaries his curious figure of jurist and magician. As [175] with Lalla Aziza, nearly six centuries separate us from him. If it is so that these concordances between the Arabic chronicle, the montagnard tradition, the family archives and archeology do not seem to be entirely fantastic, the clue to the tenor in history of a society too often studied as if it moved outside of time would not be trivial.

An Intellectual

Sidi Lah'sen of Assttif, he too, is an entirely historical individual. A number of acts where his paraph figures are pre- [127] served in Seksawa. Use has been made of them here and there in this study. That places his personage: a cultured man assum- [693] ing the role of notary and perhaps of "cadi," in the sense that this society gives the word. According to the present head of the zaouia, Sidi Buh'sayn, this ancestor, like Sidi Mh'and u Abderrah'man of Ammern, would be from the Idma. He would thus belong to the conquering group which installed itself in the middle valley by eliminating the a. Gasa by the sword. The two saints would have left to study in the Anti-Atlas under the Sidi Mh'and u Brahim at-Tamanârtî, a saint highly reputed in the legend and the jurisprudences of the Sous. One again finds here the scholarly and pious atmosphere that the collections of the Moroccan South reflect. Even more precise is Sidi Lah'sen's belonging to the Idma gest. In the genealogy that this taqbilt exhibits, he takes his place as sixth descendant of a Sliman who came from the Anti-Atlas to Seksawa in the course of the sixteenth century. The acts dated by his hand date from the second half of the seventeenth century. A contemporary of the saint of Ammern, according to the legend, as has been seen, he would precede by about a century another rather important Idma saint, the Lah'sen

/303 cont./

776 b. Bûbker buried at Ad'erd'ur. Thus, very lively local individuality, at the same time as participation in a movement of minds that is attested to us for the Sous in the sixteenth century.

792 The zaouia, where half the present inhabitants call themselves /304/ descendants of Sidi Lah'sen, is set up under the walnut trees, in the bottom of a hollow that the denuded mass of the [172] Afuzar oppresses. Ground of a terrible dryness. The ravine that [489] unites it with the valley is full of calcined ruins of former a. Gasa villages. To the South, a steep path connects it to Ikis by way of a sparse forest of small oaks. On the side of the Afuzar one sees the abrupt col of the Meggayed'. On the other side are the [634] Gedmiwa, or at least their high cantons, where the remainder of the conquered took refuge. Far within the other tribe, the zaouia [794] collects its chchard'. It thus forms the junction between two systems, separated today, but which the old history, revealed by an always young hagiology, united. A number of students from beyond the crest come here. And the zaouia owns property in a. Gasa. So many signs of a former straddling of both sides of the 776 Afuzar. The saints, whose service skips over the precarious hu- 174 man limits, often set the researcher on the track of ancient solidarities. We can lay out, with what tradition knows of their itineraries, of their perimeters of attraction or of radiation, a veritable cartographic document.

796 The intellectuality of the origins of the house of Assttif has been perpetuated up to our day. It has even had a fqîha, Lalla Fad'ma, an expert in Mudawwana. Above all, it has given birth, and even of our day, to a saint: Sidi Muh'ammed u Âbdallah, of 776 whom there will be talk later. Highly integrated with the ag- 634 gressive history of the Idma, it has not ceased to lend them its [666] support as patron, guarantor, and arbiter. It presided over the elections of chiefs at Inraren Z'dinin. Its border position allowed [631] it to extend its political action far to the E. In the recent period, at the time of the development of the power of the great caids, it thus played a certain role in favor of the hegemony of the Mtugga.

796 It has always avoided, as we have noted, being integrated 796 with the naturist feasts of other Seksawa saints. Its orthodox

/304 cont./

776 origins and its attachment to an individualist atmosphere undoubt-
796 edly armed it against this sort of confusion. To which its aspect owes some originality, but also some singularity. It does not have mârûf, and the present marabout takes pride in this.

776 With its intimate association with the gest of the Idma, whose energetic and sly personality it shares, it is this individual reserve with regard to the surrounding hagiology, this persistent vein of orthodox culture, here associated with a disdainful criticism of the milieu, that form its peculiarity.

/305/ A Classic

773 The figure of the saint of Ammern is much less intellectual.
776 And much less precise. The traditions concerning his origin differ.
184 According to one, he would have been an Idma, a contemporary of sidi Lah'sen. According to others, he came from the Ammeln of the Anti-Atlas, whose distorted name his zaouia still bears, and this would have taken place toward the beginning of our eighteenth century. Finally, according to others, he goes back, through the classic intermediary of the Marrakech mystic, al-Ghazwânî, to the great Machîch al-ᶜAlamî. Three traditions, three systems: one "national"; another conformable to the movement of populations coming from the Anti-Atlas; a third being integrated in the cycle of the Moroccan çufisme /Sufism/, with Nordic origins and relay in Marrakech. Profusion of legitimacy!

776 According to the last tradition, which is warranted by a
175 silsila, a document registering a "chaîne initiatique" /initiatory chain/ on a nonauthenticated copy, which is exhibited at the zaouia, sidi Mh'and died in 820 Heg.: 1417. Eight intermediaries would separate him from the Cheikh /Sheik/ of the Jebel ᶜAlam. This date contradicts the one, much more recent, which would suppose a legendary journeyman-period with the saint of Assttif. But there is nothing unexpected in these antiquities or in these combinations of cycles: the incertitude over the origins is an adjuvant for the fervor.

/305 cont./

776 175 The fact is that the two saints are joined together in a series of adventures in which they are seen "reascending" from the plain, not without differences with the central power.

773 776 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Mh'and and sidi Lah'sen cultivated together a field in Inzzūyma. But at this time a tyrant reigned over the Qaçba, Amjjot', "the man of the Mjjat'," or "the scurfy one," who oppressed all the piedmont farmers. Mh'and cried tears over it, which, falling to the ground, flew back as sparks. Lah'sen, desirous of incognito, in vain wiped them away with his hand; the tyrant became excited by it. He summoned the two saints and offered them all his wealth if they would confirm his exactions. But Mh'and, shaking a towel that was lying there, made money shower down from it. "You see," he said, "we have no interest in your money. We order you to free all these peasants that you are overburdening." Amjjot', seized by fear, made the promise, and the two saints returned to the mountains. God alone knows if the tyrant executed the commitment.

In this legend one can see an indication of the conflicts between the Seksawa and the power of the plain that builds fortresses to block them: Qaçba Umjjot' in the olive grove to the N.-W. of Inzzūyma, or Qaçba n-Qihra at the narrowing of the valley. Souvenir likewise /306/ of cultivations of mountain people in the plain, on the lands that lower taqbilt-s have now reserved for themselves.

According to other accounts, sidi Mh'and was a peregrinating schoolmaster: in Asif Lh'lu, where his house is shown, at the mosque of Usikis, at Tugg Lkheyr, at the Timzughin zaouia in Mez'ud'a, in a. Abdella, where he entered into competition with sidi Ghânem and where he was persecuted, like so many other local Berbère /Berber/ peculiarities, by the "black Sultan"; as fqīh, again in Nfifa at Lalla ᶜAṛība, at Afella n-talat (Imintanout), in the defiles of the Amejnes, at the Tizi Wargyun, etc. In short, everywhere.

/306 cont./

776 823 [789] The figure that results is sometimes that of a pedant, sometimes that of a maker of springs. The traits that are ascribed to him in this sense are numerous. The waters of Meghdir, T'abya, Ait Wardas, Usikis, Iggayzen, Wanz'id', Lâwina of Sidi Ah'med u Âli are attributed to his miracles. Finally the source of the Amerdul on the Tabgurt, famous for the difficult regulations of irrigation between high-mountain villages, is attributed to him.

776 Letters and hydraulics, there are two specialties well adapted to the milieu. So well adapted that they are merged in the moral climate of the country, without a personal visage emerging from it. Here one again joins the stream of rural saints, whose type sidi Mh'and embodies.

776 184 619 But, a striking thing, he is practically the only one to embody it among the Seksawa, whom an originality very clearly contrasts, on this plane, to the neighboring groups. Among the Demsira, for example, the figures of classic Maghrebi saints

776 184 619 abound. Here is sidi Nâçer of Tamarwut, who, patient husband of a quarrelsome wife, employs lions as forest workers to fell for him and to tie up his wood for him. Again lions serve as mounts for two doctors of Mafred'. And sidi Mh'and b. Âbdelkrim who, 825 again by lions, had his maize threshed! Only lions, the profane will say! But the fact is that their name, figured iz'mawn in the plural, designates properly the powers of the man of God. It is in this way that one speaks of the "lions of sidi Ah'med u Musa"; the term enters the lexicon of popular doctrine. We found it again in

776 184 619 the topography of the a. Musa. Again in Demsira, sidi Brahim n-ait Lqad'i instructs the most redoubtable spirits in the forest. Sidi Lah'sen b. Moh'ammed of Iregh drove away birds and rodents, so harmful to the crops. The Seksawa hagiology, imperiously centralized on one heroine, Lalla Aziza, appears dryer, more organized. In this not very exploitable domain of comparisons between tribes, it is necessary to stop here with an impression, which only a monographic investigation of this part of the Atlas will be

[181] able to infirm or confirm. If it were verified, this trait would rejoin a certain /307/ number of others to make up for the Seksawa the original physiognomy that one perceives in them, without always being able to define it.

/307 cont./

796 Sidi Mh'and, as has been seen, is probably the only one of his kind here. Inventor of springs, and protector of fields and herds, his importance is great, especially in Idma. Associate /Fr. Parèdre, from the Gk. paredros/ of sidi Lah'sen in the acts concerning the life of the taqbilt, he also receives a cens in other Seksawa groups.

796 /The following four paragraphs are in small type in the original source./ Approximately 80 villages furnish the saint what we have called a "subscription." That is, by taqbilt: Idma, 4 villages; a. Musa, 1; a. H'adduyws, 10; a. Châib, 4; a. Bkhayr, 2; Afella Issen, 2; Irohalen (Demsira), 2; a. Lh'sen, 5; Sekrat, 2; a. Daud, 4; a. Mh'and u Musa, 2; Iberhan, 2; a. Abdella, 4; a. Lbûr (Nfifa), 1; Dwiran, 2; Mez'ud'a, 6; a. Tigidar, 1; Ind Maghus, 1; Amejnes, 1; a. Gasa, 1.

794 (634)

This expansion amply goes beyond, in all directions, the close radius of the zaouia of Ammern. Circum-Tichka ensemble on one side, tribes of the col of Imintanout on the other, and points on the Dir, as far as into Gedmiwa. In other words, perimeter of some half-scores of kilometers in radius. And it is only a matter of a saint of really rather limited total importance.

[792]

The content of the chchard' is naturally variable. In general, it consists of an annual charge for each foyer of half a measure of barley or maize and the churning of butter "of a Friday." For only the Seksawa tribe a rough evaluation gives the following quantities:

One thousand foyers, grouped in some 25 villages, pay annually at Ammern: 63 qx /quintals/ of barley, 161 kg. of butter, 26 qx of maize, 3 sheep, one bovine, and 12,000 nuts. That is, in the course of 1951 a value of about 250,000 fr. It would seem that this total must be quintupled, bearing in mind supererogatory gifts and offerings, the object of fruitful quests practiced by the igwrramen, according to the itinerant method. In 1951, one of the beneficiaries having, unknown to the others, collected on the spot the gifts of a single village of Ind Maghus, a complaint was lodged. The final transaction involved 5,000 fr. To which are

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/307 cont./

796 794 to be added the proceeds of the large feast celebrated each year at Ammern itself and the fees for the pilgrimages to the tomb of sidi Mh'and.

This is not the place to pursue this kind of evaluation. The above figures will nevertheless give a sufficient idea of the economic support of the hagiology in Seksawa and of the role that it plays in the circulation of goods, as a center of attraction and consumption.

796 782 For some fifty years, on the tenth of September, Ammern has been the seat of a so-called immolation ceremony, tighersiwin, like that of Lalla Aziza, which, however, is older. An ox is sacrificed by each canton of the Seksawa, to which are added the Iberhan. The resemblances with the ceremony of /308/ Lalla [184] Aziza are great, except that the procession here goes in the direction of up the valley, up to an area situated above the sanctuary. The same Mohammedan litany resounds there, grandiose in this rugged spot. Then offerings in money are deposited, while in the sanctuary the recitations of the scholars buzz. The crowd presses 796 in, curious, moved. Business is done: animals, olives, almonds. One strikes up acquaintances; one makes agreements for betrothals or other combinations. A moralist mountebank says, matched with emphatic gesticulations, the h'ddit, "homily of instruction" on the duties of prayers, ablutions, etc. He catechizes his audience, whom he has had put the hands together in the gesture of vow, dduᶜâ. And undoubtedly he will not hasten to have it reopen them too soon, for he puts it little by little in a state, not of trance, but of emotion and plenitude, of which the final collection will feel the effect. With moving gestures, cleverly intermixing his sermon with religious couplets, chants, interrogations ad hominem, shaking a sheet covered with characters that he pretends to consult, even though he does not know how to read, he impresses the good people, from whom he elicits from time to

/311 cont/

121 us to observe here: the differentiation between functions and de-
771 grees. That is to say that the judgment and the definition must vary, according to whether it is a matter of spirituality individually attained by the elect, or of the ritual expansion which the agrarian structures manifest. Between the two, all the stages of practices, of elaboration, and even of interpretation.

771 At the level of the rural order, limited to the necessities of juridical constancy and naturist efficacy of the group, is distinguished a kind of sacred appearing only rarely in hagiology, and which is identified in good part with the most defaced movement of the community. Here one is well within individual destinies, legendary explication, and even historical relations.

• 776 Of an entirely different level are the clienteles that link the cantons to a saint of banal type, such as the one of Ammern, or
[182] to the heroine of Z'init'. Both assume, unequally, their function of unifying symbol of the Seksawa, as well as that of protectors or avengers. In the person of Lalla Aziza, in that of Amer u H'addo, which distance blurs, this political vocation is burnished by a precise historicity. In the ritual polarization of this type of saint resides an originality of the Seksawa, related to their so personal past.

776 What is undoubtedly less peculiar to them, but seems, on the
775 contrary, a general trait, is the contrast between saints of an exclusive naturism with definite visage, indeed with a name, and historical saints. The rarity of the latter contrasts with the hegemony they exercise in the few instances where one locates them. That is undoubtedly related to a concrete evolution of the milieu. But it is not a matter of indifference that between the agrarian sacred of village rites and the spiritual primacy of a political saint, attested to by the documents, the place of the supematural figures remains secondary, or at least statistically restrained. The almost purely social that is observed at the ground level of this religious life gives way, on the stage of the great patrons, to some historical personalities, all extremely concrete and, in some way, verifiable.

/311 cont./

ΠΠ| History has prevailed over myth here. But it has been able to do it only by reason of the vocation, so characteristic of these groups, to /312/ affirm their temporal administration. We see this capacity being exercised on the very echelon of the canton feasts. What is dominant here is not the communional aspect, it is the contractual aspect. Auctions, sales on credit, notarial registration: the profane goes beyond the ancient sacrificial rite on all sides. An individualist debate, a communal administration, purely juridical operations already appear, and are displayed with a growing profusion as the cadre of activity becomes larger. Henceforth, law and religion are going to take separate roads.

● ΠΠ6 And here is a holiness of great individuals and of great spaces.
ΠΠ| Its tentacular action could be represented on the map, from the Haouz to the Sous and to the Drâ. Its protection is solicited from far away. Its avidity is exercised even farther. It is served in free order, with particular devotions of groups, villages, families. This mysticism with geographic expression tends itself toward another, more secret form. That of personal affiliation with a master. This phenomenon, in North Africa, has known, under the name of confrerism, an extension to which, for at least half a century, has corresponded an excessive infatuation of our investigators. In the confrerism, most often and essentially esoteric, the local community does not act, or acts less. An atmosphere of organization and of hierarchy reigns. Concurrently, the hagiological individuation assumes an extraordinary relief. Like sidi Âbdallah u Sâid, sidi Ah'med u Musa, sidi Mh'amed Bennâçer, these "beacons"...

ΠΠ| In short, in the course of this ascension, we shall have seen several layers of religious reality succeeding one another. On the two ends, rival forms, being exercised fully. Below, the anonymous naturist sacred of the Tamjlocht, for example, a place of deep collective vibration; on the other, the great figure of the mystic of the Tazerwalt, and his idealism with broad oriental and Mediterranean correspondences. Almost absolute social integration on the one side. Individualism colored with mystery and legend on the other. Rural order below. Initiatory wisdom above.

/312 cont./

771 Although the antithesis could be prolonged for a long time, one will avoid doing it for fear of twisting it. It will suffice for us to bear in mind this contribution that the study of the tiered levels of the religious life in the confined milieu of the Seksawa can contribute to the general analysis of the phenomenon.

The Ig^{w}rramen

796 182 It is not necessary, however, to go up to the "Poles," like the saint of the Tazerwalt, in order to observe the function that /313/ this genre of personage assumes, on the same spot and concurrently with forms profoundly embodied in collective rhythms. One type forms the transition between the communitarian and individual forms. 792 This is the one of the saints' descendants or ministers. Except for a few nuances, which distinguish the ones from the others, they share a ritual qualification that makes them dispensers of favorable of unfavorable influences. Yet, and although each of them has at his disposal, according to a hierarchy that is proper to them, a part of these powers, they are presented as an organized college, a special jemâa. Mussulman procedural or notarial forms: founding acts, genealogical trees fix their traditional power and are invoked in case of conflict. It is thus that the agurram, plur. ig^{w}rramen (let us call him by his Berbère /Berber/ name, the term of "marabout," divulged among Europeans, not being in usage here), presents himself in the "division of social labor" halfway between the collective vocation and individual specialization (1).

1. This category, too, comprises a veritable statistical profusion. It figures quite rightly in the old censuses of the offices of A. I., under a special rubric. In the neighboring Dwiran and Mez'ud'a, the "marabouts" constitute an important part of the population. Naturally, the fact that such-and-such a "fraction" assumes, in the division of social

/317 cont./

787 538 /footnote 1 continued/ produced in the person of Ibn al-Muwaqqit, scholar from Marrakech, whose prediction on the end of the world greatly agitated the circles of t't'olba. A. Faure, "Un réformateur marocain... /A Moroccan reformer.../," Hesp., 1952, p. 191.

it was written, "you will flee more rapidly than the dart. And /318/ you, your power shall be broken as by the wind that ravages the leaves of the almond tree. You shall lie in pieces like the meksûr" ("nuts crushed to a pulp and sold in bulk"). Biblical tone!

787 Other prophecies circulate, some of which, attributed to a Sidi Lârûsi, evoke an end to the world in about 70 hegiran years. At grave moments: 1912, Mâ' el-^{C}Aynin and al-Hîba; 1931, rebellion of Ah'med Umulid; closer to us, in 1940, a quite latent millenarianism rears its head.

The Holiness

771 According to a classic ambiguity: lucky or unlucky, divine or demoniacal, good or bad magic, initiate or counterinitiate — the profane is ignorant as to whether these trances merit one or the other qualification. It is thus that error waylays it. Truthfully speaking, this debate is posed only for the individual, and when his personality is exalted, by riches or power. That is the just risk incurred by the pride of one who gets out of the communal cycle. It is the just ransom for the possibilities that then 778 open up beyond paltry horizons. But it is a benefic guarantee 776 that God then opens to the man: the powers that he dispenses to the saints. That is why this whole society lives in ancient and precise relations with its saints.

It is meticulous archivist of the territorial sacred, of its figures, of its legends. Its sensibility is touched by the constant solicitation of a heroine, Lalla Aziza. But it goes further. The mercy of the Unique and the intercession of this archangel whose

/318 cont./
778 name, Jebrir (Gabriel), is sometimes given to children mean
776 that the "mystery of grace," ssirr, will not cease. Holiness is again present, recognizable by its miraculous tone.

778 And here is one manifestation among others:
776
114 /The following paragraph is in small type in the original source./ Sidi Moh'ammed, father of the present fqih of Talmst in Nfifa, descendant of sidi Âmer u H'addo, was preparing one day to take leave of me, when a violent storm broke out. I tried in vain to keep him. In spite of my insistence, he then left the house and, at the height of the storm, ascended the very exposed crest that leads to Imintanout. I accompanied him. In spite of the fury of the elements not a drop of water reached us. A zone /319/ of preservation stretched around us. How amazed I was, upon returning to the village, to learn that a veritable tornado had been raging, uprooting trees and inundating the dwellings!

778 There is more than "superstition" in the belief in this im-
776 munity of the saint: the narrator is an educated believer. If he were asked to explain the phenomenon, no doubt he would call upon divine intervention; similarly no doubt he would mix in ethical ideas on the saint's role and the just recompense which, through the karâmât privileges like that one, renders this recognizable to the faithful. These distinctive signs can be useful, as has
[212] been seen, in avoiding unfortunate confusions in a milieu where
[794] the ambiguous figure of the t't'aleb, participant in both an unsophisticated scientism and old esoteric traditions, assumes communication with the invisible world. The new powers hidden by the Arabic writing, in a society that is taken with it to the point of attaching all its law to it, has these risks as ransom. Classic ambivalences, and all the more dangerous, even in the eyes of the believer, as the writing is decked out in an air of piety and culture.

792 In this respect they open, in the old rural atmosphere, an
794 evolution toward repudiation. The jostling of the unlettered agurram and of the scribe of furtive sapience within the same

/320 cont./

159 generation of the saint of Assttif, died. He spent a large portion
792 of his life at the zaouia of the Mez'ud'a, where his intervention
[175] re-established harmony during a difficult succession of cheikh /sheik/. It is known that this zaouia, revived by the teaching of Timgilcht, and mother of several other zaouias of the plain, exercises a great influence in the mountains: notably upon the a. Lh'sen, on the Tigguga, but also on the ensemble of the Seksawa.

What is remarkable about it, in the popular consciousness, is that the holiness has been renewed there, in the course of generations, and each time under a different figure. In the
[175] seventeenth century, sidi Sâid u Bubker, Orient sherif, joined the Nâçirian cycle, then at the height of its freshness. He was such a just man that, when he circulated about, he muzzled his donkey in order to avoid the slightest damage to others' fields.
[176] His grandson, sidi Ah'med u Âli, was a healer. He was called the saint "of the bees," lwali n-tiz'z'wa. His bees plundered the plain downstream. People from the distant Chichaoua came to complain to him. "Mark them," he told them; they did this, sprinkling the little animals with henna. The saint, then having proof of the ta^{c}addî, condemned the guilty ones to leave his mountain. Above his tomb, overlooking the immense perspective of the Mez'ud'a and Ud Bessebâ^{c} plain, was erected a madrasa, still famous, and which has hived off into the plain, covering it with its subsidiaries — Bu^{c}anfir, Sa^{c}îdât among others. A scholar of the Italen, one qualified from Timgilcht, comes from time to time to revive the old body. He is a purist Mussulman, anxious to spurn, against even his disciples, any miraculous reputation. But it is not the same for one of the latter, from Assttif, and who is the agurram sidi Muh'ammad u Abdallah, on the name of whom this digression opened.

159 This Seksiwi, he is not at all loath for miracles. It is
792 evening. The students are holding a session, and the lighting
789 of the hall falls to one of them. They did not inform the man from Assttif that it was his turn to prepare the light. They anticipate his confusion. But it is they who are going to be confounded, and edified: rubbing his finger against the mat

/321 cont./

159 And the session continues, full of color for the eyes and in-
787 struction for the heart. The account that is given of it contains precise allusions to the crisis that the house was then going through and announces events that, it seems, took place afterwards without fail. One is thus dealing with a jurisprudential oracle here (1).

1. On the mantic of the dream, L. Massignon, "Le folklore chez les mystiques musulmans /Folklore among the Mussulman mystics/," Mélanges René Basset, t. I, pp. 259 sq., 264, 269. Numerous anecdotes of this type in the Manâqib al-H'ud'aykî.

Certainly not with a Songe de Scipion /Dream of Scipio/. But the continuity with the Abrahamic message, the reminder of the great Witnesses are expressed here with a vigor that has to make this last saint of the Seksawa a being of imitation and edification.

792 Of what may be felt in the presence of such persons, not by the common herd taken with contracts for agricultural assurance or payer for amulets, but by the humble disciple, adolescent "of prayer and of desire" (2),

2. According to the magnificent expression of L. Massignon.

who hides his fervor in the obscure cells of the zaouia, here is still-warm evidence. On the blank page of a volume, /322/ [776] both a solemn pledge and talisman, a young man, Brahim Nffisi, "dedicates his being, his goods, his destiny" to the sherif sidi Jilâlî b. Ah'mad as-Sibâ^{c}î in exchange for his mu^{c}âchara, and the latter promises to dispense it to him. It would be too easy to see in this veritable act of "affrèrement" /becoming brothers/, [776] dated 1194 Heg.: 1780, only a trait of suspect friendship. This

/322 cont./

792 Sibāʿī is a saint whose memory survives at the zaouia of Taker-
• [776] kuzt (1).

1. Today submerged by the waters of the dam of the Nfifis.

to the S. of Marrakech, from where this volume comes. This muʿāšehara that the exaltation of a young soul solicits is the initiatory commerce.

128 Let us thereupon terminate the study of religious structures, the outline of which would have remained inexact if, besides their connections to the rural group, one had not also mentioned what they let pass in sallies beyond this group. All that we can say now no longer concerns the Seksawa, not even the Chleuhs /Shluh/ as such. Let us give the floor to E. Dermenghem, explorer touched by Maghrebi holiness.

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A Juridical System

I. Techniques of Settlement

Let us go back some thirty years, that is, before the institution of the present Tribunaux Coutumiers /Customary Courts/. That is little for a historical investigation. It is sufficient, nevertheless, to reveal a triple order of phenomena, corresponding to three layers of the social reality, as well as to three kinds of techniques.

691 Let us first set aside the more or less important litigations in
[692] which the authority, jemâa, amghar, or moqaddem, arrogates to itself the decision. The expansion of personal power is limited here by a very strict tradition concerning the devolutions of competence. As will be seen, it is above all a question of matters concerning the public order, that is, bringing into play the internal structure of the group or its combination with neighboring
691 groups. A second category of litigations, the most common ones
695 in a rural society, is under the jurisdiction of sworn law. We

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613 671 but the displays or the subterfuges that the old Chleuh /Shluh/ procedure has been prodigal with to maintain against it something of the old solidarities are in sum only a trifle in comparison with the primacy that it holds for the mores. One will see this notably in the matter of the division of acquests and of matrimonial customs. In both cases, the "patriarchal" and statutory character gives way to an individual and contractual character more pronounced than any analogous one that can be observed in the alleged Islamic model. In this matter the Chleuh /Shluh/ system goes beyond the fiqh. The influence of the gentilitial organizations, although combated by orthodoxy, its notariate and its conception of personal rights, could resist them, but not prevail over a powerful local tradition, that of egalitarian computation between conjoints, parents and children. These three influences have nevertheless interfered, and all three are to be found, although to unequal degrees, in the different sectors of the familial institution.

/340/ Morphology of Marriage in Seksawa

584 [796] Each year, at the feast of the Mîlâd, young men and young women from the surroundings stream to the holy place of Z'init'. The attraction is exerted as far as in Mentaga to the S., up to the ᶜAbda to the N. It is the market for wives. Couples, who only rarely ask for the parents' approval, form according to their sympathies. In certain cases, however, the fiancée "presents" her fiancé to her family, which goes to accompany him home. Most often, it is necessary to say, the unions have nothing at all that could satisfy the moralist. "But," as an amghar of the Seksawa [776] told me, "one must believe that the saint delights in it, for her [778] baraka guarantees the prosperity of these marriages and makes up for the sometimes considerable delays of the usual betrothals." [582] This market for girls, especially dear to the plains Arab wooers who come here to choose a montagnard woman to their liking, has lasting fruits. The single village of Z'init' has at the present time three of its women who have married sanctimoniously into the single H'mer tribe.

/385 cont./

000 understood, feint, surprise, violence temporarily broke up a legitimacy that adequate means, brought into play by the other party, came to re-establish in the end. Emigration, which one may consider as going back to a very ancient practice, had an important function: that of creating voids. Individual absences, ritual flights, military dispossessions unbalanced the local group. Today we see the return of the exiled child, who is not "prodigal," /386/ but miserly, take place in feast and scandal, because the one exiled brings back his savings, and because he is immediately going to attack sedentary capital. Formerly the role of these movements of individuals or of groups seems to have been preponderant. At the same time that it reconstituted the substance of the groups, it formed the bond between the two contrary elements whose tension we are observing even at present. Right of the soil and of origins against right of money and convention, on the one hand; right of the absent one against right of the one present, on the other hand: the antiquity of the system probably resided in the play of these four terms.

177 The contemporary stage expresses the organization that is built between these basic data and the oriental contribution. But when and how does this contribution intervene, and from which foyers of diffusion? Insoluble question for the moment. What is sure is that the amalgamation took place on levels of unequal depth according to the sectors of the institution. An important thing, because the oriental norms seem to have sometimes been accepted or submitted to in such a way that the practice contrived to palliate them, sometimes voluntarily elected, indeed systematically exaggerated, or diverted toward other ends. The hypothesis of phases of deliberate adoption or of authoritarian imposition, Almohadism, for example, is not excluded. With less gigantic, less legendary proportions, there were perhaps other cases in which adjustment was attempted by the indigenous legislative genius between the ancestral ideas and the universal alphabet that Islam brought. Whence the importance of so many founding heros, today submerged under a dull or rude hagiology, but in which one has a presentiment of appurtenance to an old

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776 177 Mediterranean foundation. Thus perhaps here this Âmer u H'addô, magician-king according to the Arab chronicle, eponym of the highest valley. The agellid-s of the fourteenth century were perhaps the first great adapters. But they are buried in an indiscernable past.

The Age of the System

671 779 182 It is thus better to hold fast to a patent fact: that the Seksawa system realizes a transactional equilibrium with Islam, and undoubtedly in large part conscious.

Great sections of fiqh exist intact here and can easily be recognized: use of Arabic writing and orthodox notarial forms. Clear conviction of the user that he is drawing inspiration from the one and the other norm, the indigenous and the oriental, the former gaining through local conditionings, the latter in the /387/ ethical choice. So many traits that would make one think of a profound adulteration of the system. And although composite is not the synonym of backward, the impression would be that one is dealing, in the Chleuh /Shluh/ law, with a bastard and derived phenomenon. But here is the opposite side.

[212] Invasion by the fiqh, certainly. But delimited, elaborated in a personal ensemble. Adoption of writing, certainly, but with the benefit of local prestiges. Assimilation, certainly, but balanced, circumscribed, desired, and sometimes even, one would say, simulated. Would this law then be a very old system able to safeguard, under wise adaptations, its original legacy? Similarly, what is to be concluded concerning its morcellation? It presents itself today divided into minuscule personalities of cantons and ravines according to a compartmentalization that, remarkably enough, does not always coincide with that of the ways of speaking. But does that imply youth or decadence? At the very least the existence of a Chleuh /Shluh/ juridical koïnè, entirely coherent and thoughtful, although broken up into a thousand varieties, postulates a maturity favorable to the

/389 cont./
695 182 the role of the jusjurandum was formerly more extensive in the system before the introduction of the Arab notarial art came to disturb its economy. But one has no reason to eliminate as "recent" the character of laicity that the course presents and which is attested to for several centuries. The disconnection, in a way, of the function of the oath, which, an immediate technique of settlement, has become, in the heart of a procedure, the competitor of the writing, denotes in the present stage the trace of a profound and ancient regression of the sacred.

/390/ Divergences Between the Evolution of the Religion and That of the Law

121 [776] But would we not observe a regression of this genre in hagiology? Between the historic heroine who rules the Seksawa and the anonymity of the local sanctuaries, no intermediary stage. To what is the fact to be attributed? To an original character or to an acquired evolution? And, in this second hypothesis, to the progress of a community in love with classifications, to the decadence of the creative faculties, or to the logical expansion of monotheism? We know nothing about it. However that may be, it indeed seems that at a certain period there took place a simplification of this society, a lopping of the autochthonous spontaneities, and that that is to be put in relation with such a trait, still to be discovered, of the reception of Islam in the Haut Atlas.

[613] It is undoubtedly the agnatic group, as ritual person as well as juridical person, that bore the cost of the transformation, or of the decadence. Whence the discordant and anomalistic character that its survivals or its reappearances assume today. But the void thus created has been diversely filled by law and religion.

776 795 At the base exists a swarming of observances most often exclusive of personal support, and we have even recognized there a sacred of strictly communal foundation. The religious and social here go so far as to become identified. On a superior stage two or three figures of saints, common to all or part of the Seksawa,

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796 795 assume a "national" role, and benefit from an organized cult, with great gatherings and financial arrangements. Still higher reign the ties subscribed to by such-and-such a village or, less frequently, such-and-such a taqbilt or such-and-such a family, with regard to saints from the outside. Individual depassments then enter into play. But confreric affiliation is scarcely represented in Seksawa, or rather is confounded there, under certain of these aspects, with the particular devotions to such-and-such a "marabout": here and there in the mountains one finds the faithful of sidi Ah'med u Musa, who attend his end-of-summer musem. Purely individual matter, matter of "conscience" and also of mode, hence the growth and decadence of a brotherhood like the Nâçiriyya for example, quite decayed from what it was a century ago. Matter of craze also, indeed of vertigo, as was seen at the time of the push of Mâ' l-ᶜAynîn in 1912. And there one touches upon the richness, the unforeseeability of a spirituality whose movements of course largely surpass the cadre of the Seksawa or even of the Atlas.

771 /391/ The liaison to the ground and the hagiological creation are formed diversely according to these stages, at each of which their power is affirmed, one might say, in inverse proportion to each other. At the base, a collective allegiance sustained by an agrarian order. At the intermediary stage, rudiments of cantonal, indeed federal, cult. Then contracts between groups and patron saints. Finally purely personal devotion. So many social modes, orders of ideas and sentiments that are echeloned on these different levels, but not, it is true, without interferences [779] of one with the other. And Islam reacts, constantly although unequally, on everything.

671 178 177 In the law, on the contrary, there has not only been transformation, but reconstruction. Borrowed norms have operated on a layer less deep than the old institutions that they tended to supplant. This discordance has brought adjustment. Consequently, a strong denivellation today separates the spirit of this law from its procedure, and even from the mores through which it attempts to safeguard, in spite of this procedure, what is essential for it. Thus

/414 cont./

present tasks. And that seems so ancient that it is this second stage that prevailed in the cult. The village mosque espoused distribution of the habitat: there are no mosques of ikhs, but mosques of agglomeration; moreover, vestiges of a situation where intervillage sanctuaries also existed are discerned. This is the case for these /415/ edifices, isolated and most often secularized, that are found in the upper valleys: undoubtedly taqbilt mosques. On the other hand, devotion to saints, if it is of contractual accent, and hence dominated by a complete and individual freedom of initiative, has as cadre the canton much more frequently than the family. The existence of taqbilt saints, not to mention a national saint, finally characterizes the Seksawa. So many traits in which, certainly for the present, but also for a large slice of the past, are affirmed the conquests of the small montagnard state as political and even, in certain respects, cultural person. It has thus assumed a good part of the attributions that perhaps formerly fell to a patriarchal organization. It eliminated the others, or suppressed them in the magico-religious context of the most summary procedures. Its own evolution towards a conscious system, with transactions and demarcations, with judiciary techniques, with acknowledged profane character, reduced these procedures more and more. And if one considers that the taqbilt, adherent to a territorial entity, assumes there precise agrarian functions, one will think of its exceptional plenitude of definition.

Between the small montagnard state, the canton whose life is collected in the bottom of a ravine, and the major system, which embraces all the affluents of a valley, a threshold has been crossed. Threshold of dimensions, intelligibility. Here functions a social morphology that the clear liaisons with the space explain. Let us attempt to state them precisely. On the synthesis of landed and technical visual reality that the quarter constitutes depends a synthesis of parental, classificatory, religious and juridical reality: the ikhs.

It seems to be the great actor of the agrarian order. On it is arranged the distribution of land and water, thus the material and

/48 cont./

556 always reigned. But at the same time the life of the workers in
184 the gardens, the "khemmas," is more and more miserable. Only
511 a temporary emigration to the towns of Morocco, to France, or
[167] to Algeria enables the adult men to earn, by hard work, the
[464] money necessary for the subsistence of their families remaining in the country.

779 XI. The religious life. -- The Sous is -- the rest of its history will make us understand by what circumstances -- profoundly subject to Islamic religious influences. The millenary work
[346] of the reformers, leaders of brotherhoods, and holy personages whose whitewashed domes so often strike the traveler's eye in this country has been crowned with success, and one would look in vain as far as the farthest valleys for a hamlet without a mosque.

795 /49/ The major religious duties, prayer, fasting, alms, are observed with care. Even the pilgrimage is frequently performed
[788] by the notables, merchants, and well-to-do men, especially in
[554] the tribes of the plains and mountains of the South, among whom
184 an ardent attachment for religion persists up to the present, ac-
[798] companied besides by hate and scorn for the Christian.

But whatever may be the attachment of the Sous Berbères /Berbers/ to Islam, they nevertheless like to express it within the narrow boundaries of their little states. They reserve for their
[554] marabouts, scholars, and talebs /public scribes/ the gain from their tithes.

779 As in all the rest of North Africa the cult of the saints mani-
•796 fests itself here in its familiar aspects so often described. One
[791] can even observe that the veneration of the Chleuhs /Shluh/ for
[792] their marabouts can be modeled on the various forms of their social organization. We shall soon see the importance of these
*[631] small superimposed states, which are the fraction, similar to a
[619] canton, the tribe, whose territory embraces several valleys, the confederation, which sometimes extends over a whole versant of the mountain. Now it may be said that each of these groups pos-
776 sesses its patron saints. For example, the most venerated sanc-
778 tuaries, those of Moulay Brahim of the Kik, Lalla ʿAziza of the
619

/49 cont./

776 Seksawa, Sidi ou Sidi of Taroudant, Sidi Sa^{c}id Ou ^{c}Abd en
[778] Na^{c}im of the Hahà, and especially Sidi Ahmed Ou Mousa of the
[619] Tazerwalt, see numerous tribes of the same race assemble each
*[631] summer around their roofs of green tiles. These saints thus be-
long to very large social groups made up of one or several con-
[782] federations. It is they whom one invokes from a great distance
to implore their protection or swear certain vengeance on an
[778] enemy. Kaids and chiefs driven from their homes, assassins in
flight, come to seek refuge near their tombs, and the poets who
address themselves to a large audience do not fail to call off
their names before improvising their songs.

792 The marabouts of the tribes are less famous, but their role
[619] remains considerable. They have often left near their tombs
[778] numerous descendants, heirs of their "baraka" /Berber term in-
dicating the quality of holiness/, who are invoked as arbitrators
695 in internal struggles. Their qoubbas /kubbas/ are the rendezvous
671 of the coswearers whom Berbère /Berber/ law requires to assemble
in cases of murder or theft.

776 Finally come the saints of the cantons and villages, whose
789 /50/ names are sometimes obscure and enigmatic. The latter
[778] sometimes reveal their presence only by the existence of magic
trees, sacred springs, or simple piles of stones. But their useful-
ness is no less. They protect the harvests, frighten thieves, and
people put under their protection the cut wood, the plows, or, on
the coast, the oars of the boats and the nets; they make the wal-
nuts and olives ripen, provided that people come occasionally to
celebrate near them a common meal accompanied by dances and
songs. Little girls come to sleep on their tombs, in order to learn
how to spin without effort; married couples, mounted on a mule,
turn around them seven times in order to escape bad influences.
[773] It is through these unchronicled minor saints that the bond of Berbère
/Berber/ Islam with the ancient beliefs, preserved more faith-
fully by the memory of the women than by that of the talebs, be-
comes manifest.

771 As a matter of fact the new religion has not succeeded in
178 making the old naturistic cults of former times disappear

159 /313 cont./
175 amghar of the Ind Maghous was less fortunate. Taken prisoner by
*634 a ruse of his enemy in the course of peace negotiations that fol-
726 lowed this defeat of the kaid of Amismiz, the independent minor
*631 chief was sent into the prisons of the Makhzen /makhzan/ at
[727] Tanger /Tangier/. ᶜOmar Touzzalti, rid of the rebel, then assembled a strong harka with the plains contingents of the Mejjat and of the Ouled Ben Sebaᶜ, then arrived at Adasil and /314/ repulsed the Aït Gaïr and the whole leff of the mountain "Indghertit" in the upper valleys.

175 The captivity of the amghar Mohammed has remained leg-
159 endary. According to tradition, a man of the country, disguised
*634 as a water carrier, was charged to send help to the prisoner in
697 secret. A few months afterwards, under cover of the bombard-
[648] ment of Tanger /Tangier/ by the French squadron during the summer of the year 1844, Mohammed fled in the general confusion. At the gate of the town he found a horse that had been
•[776] providentially sent to him, for this chief was a saint, a "wali," in whose life the hand of God often appeared. Having come back to Marrakech, recognized and pursued, although he had hidden under a leper's hat in order to throw off suspicion, the amghar took refuge with the kaid El Moizz of the Mejjat. In spite of the searches, he succeeded in fleeing again, and, disguised as a
[708] woman, he reached the sanctuary of the Seksawa at Lalla ᶜAziza,
[782] where he made a vow to let a lock of hair grow, a "chantouf," which he promised not to cut before having destroyed the house of the kaid of Amismiz.

175 The amghar, helped by circumstances, since ᶜOmar Touz-
159 zalti had left with the Sultan's army to fight the French and sup-
*634 port Emir ᶜAbd el Qader in Algeria, assembled the montagnards
726 of the two leffs, who put themselves under his authority for the
616 occasion in this war against the Makhzen /makhzan/, pounced on
[648] Amismiz and pillaged the kaid's casbah from top to bottom. After all these struggles the two leaders were reconciled and declared they were quits. Si ᶜOmar even married the sister of the amghar Mohammed. Back at Adasil, where he rebuilt his fortress, the amghar of the Ind Maghous returned to the government

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of the legends has flown; the government of men has become a serious and positive thing, and the montagnards well know that for them the Iron Age has come.

Moreover, shorfa /shurfa/ and marabouts have diverted to their advantage the current of popular forces that willingly carries to the top rank the personages capable of entering into relations with the hidden universe. Islam has obtained what it could utilize of the old beliefs; in our day it is the tolba, the scholars, the saints, the descendants of the prophet, and not the amghars, who know the fearsome secrets and possess a mysterious power. The true successors to the magician-kings -- if they have ever existed /324/ in Berbère /Berber/ country -- would be, rather, in the Moroccan South, the sons of Sidi Ahmed ou Mousa, who for a long time exercised command of the tribes of the Igezzoulen, whose astonishing power Saugnier described at the end of the eighteenth century in these terms:

"This man without troops at his orders," says he of the sherif of the Tazerwalt, "is nevertheless the most powerful in all Africa; his authority is limitless. If he orders war against the Emperor of Morocco, he is obeyed; the war ceases when he wishes. Without private possessions, he has all in his power. Each family gives him a present every year; they exert themselves in the desire to make it considerable. He renders justice to everyone; he submits the accusations to his council and, some days later, definitively pronounces a verdict: he requires nothing of anybody, and everybody gives to him" (1).

1. Relation des voyages de Saugnier /Account of Saugnier's Travels/, pp. 119, 120.

In the nineteenth century, up to the end of the reign of Moulay el Hasan, Sidi Hicham and his son kept this tradition. Inheritors of the royal power established by Sidi ʿAli, they preserved strange customs in their fortress of Illigh. Such a one is that celebrated hunt each Saturday by the sherif, who, to please God, must kill the greatest possible number of wild animals; the